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Biography

Vol. 9
1986

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Abstracts of Articles

Dr. Ralph Colp, Jr. — The Relationship of Charles Darwin to the Ideas of his Grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin 1

During his career as an evolutionary thinker Charles Darwin was first influenced by the evolutionary ideas of his grandfather Dr. Erasmus Darwin, and then publicly called these ideas "erroneous." As an old man, he was stimulated by a German science writer to compose a short biography of his grandfather. Although in this biography Darwin avoided discussing his ideological relationship with grandfather, and although he was persuaded to excise some notable passages before publication, he produced a remarkably concise and vivid portrait of his grandfather as a scientist and man.

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Marlene Springer

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An examination of the personal correspondence between Harriet B. Stowe (whose letters remain unpublished) and George Eliot reveals much about the close connections formed by the important women writers of the period. Heretofore unexplained in depth by scholars, the correspondence discloses that they exchanged literary criticism; explored their religious positions with an attendant discussion of spiritualism and Stowe's conversation with Charlotte Brontë's spirit; shared their bond of womanhood and by extension their interest in women's rights; and even probed their private relations with husbands, siblings, children and friends.

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Few of Samuel Johnson's relationships have been as misunderstood and little appreciated as his friendship with Thomas Warton. The evidence suggests that the relationship was among the most emotional of Johnson's life and that what lessened the spirit of the friendship after the mid-1750s was not a difference in personality or literary taste, as had been been commonly thought, but rather it was Johnson's realization that his emotional stake in the relationship had been too high.

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Chroniclers have established through various principles of collection, selection, and limitation what may be described as an authorial genre of contemporary literary biography, the lift itself represented primarily through the subject speaking in his own voice. The "log" method focuses on selections of the "essentials" of a life; the "autobiographical" method concentrates on the creation of a simulated autobiography through selections and interspersed commentary; the epistolary method is limited to selections from the subject's correspondence; and the method of representative selections employs the corpus of the subject's work, both literary and nonliterary. Such an authorial life is no substitute for an interpretive biography, but it offers the biographer a valuable intermediate portrait of a subject.

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Ilona Bell "Haunted by Great Ghosts": Virginia Woolf and *To the Lighthouse* 150

When Virginia Woolf was almost sixty, she wrote that *To the Lighthouse* "expressed some very long felt and deeply felt emotion" about her mother, and "in expressing it I explained it and then laid it to rest." By comparison with Woolf's memoirs, *Reminiscences* and *A Sketch of the Past,* this essay sets out to explain how *To the Lighthouse* helped Woolf to overcome her obsession with her mother.

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Mark Harris makes explicit the hidden relationship between biographer and subject in *Saul Bellow: Drumlin Woodchuck* by calling attention to the process of researching and writing a biography. Boswell and Johnson are in the background as Harris draws on conventions usually associated with autobiography (its dramatized narrator and self-accounting form) to suggest the possibilities for evoking a "life" in the 20th century.

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In *Stanzas in Meditation,* written during the same period as *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas,* Gertrude Stein adopts an abstract style to explore the consequences of her literary collaboration with Alice Toklas. *Stanzas* challenges the view of Stein presented in the Toklas narrative and enables readers to reconcile the self-confident Stein of that work with the troubled, reflective Stein of *Everybody's Autobiography.*

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William Hale White's *Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* and *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance* are usually read as self-expressive and literally autobiographical. Although they use autobiographical materials, along with much that is purposefully invented, they assume two different, ordinary forms of narrative fiction. The *Autobiography* is an imitation of an action; *Deliverance* an apologue.

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Kaye Fredericks The Annual *Biography* Evaluative Survey 283

The second Annual *Biography* Evaluative Survey attempts to begin a serious dialogue to further identify criteria that can be used to judge the value of a biography. Twenty-one readers, scholars, and writers respond and are quoted here.

Steven Weiland Jefferson and Erikson, Politics and the Life Cycle 290

The importance of Erik H. Erikson's study of Thomas Jefferson, *Dimensions of a New Identity* (1974), belies its brevity and unusual biographical technique. It represents a style of cultural history which artfully integrates the legacy of orthodox psychoanalysis with adaptations and revisions proposed by Erikson and scholars in other disciplines. *Dimensions of a New Identity* is also a record of crucial elements in Erikson's own life history, especially his incorporation of distinctly American themes into his theoretical and clinical work.

Amos Handel The Sense of Estrangement From One's Previous Self in the Autobiographies of Arthur Koestler and Edwin Muir 306

In their autobiographies, both Koestler and Muir describe the sense of estrangement they feel toward a particular self in their past. An examination of the two autobiographies suggests that this sense of estrangement may serve as a complex defensive operation for coping with contradictory, affect-laden self-appraisals of change and sameness that touch upon the core of one's identity and reflect one's unresolved conflicts with respect to the essence of that core.

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Francis Shor

Cultural Identity and Americanization: The Life History of a Jewish Anarchist 324

If, as Dilthey contends, the individual is a "point of intersection" for historical and cultural structures, then one must account for the social and psychological dynamics of that intersection. Following the insights of Dilthey, the paper turns to an inquiry of the relevant work of Sartre and Erikson. The theoretical perspectives of Dilthey, Sartre, Erikson, and their interpreters are critically analyzed in order to investigate the concept of cultural identity and the process and movement for Americanization which developed in the first part of the twentieth century. By focusing on the life and projects of Joseph J. Cohen, a Jewish immigrant and anarchist, a case study is developed for the exploration of the meaning of cultural identity and radicalism in American life.

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Current trends in life-writing are toward the subjective and speculative, with particular interest in diary collections, oral histories of lesser known minority representatives, the evolution of creativity from childhood on, and the reflection of biographers' own life narratives through the reconstruction of their subjects' lives.

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Ralph Colp, Jr.

The Relationship of Charles Darwin to the Ideas of his Grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin

The relationship of Charles Darwin to the ideas of his grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, was long, complex, and formed an inner drama in his life. Sometimes he saw his grandfather as encouraging him in the formation of his identity as an evolutionary thinker. At other times, grandfather threatened this identity. Although this grandfather-grandson relationship has been commented on, it has never been fully studied.[1] The following essay will first summarise what is known about the history of Darwin's views of his grandfather, and will then describe in some detail how he became his grandfather's biographer.

I

Darwin was born 7 years after the death of his grandfather, and during the first 16 years of his life he probably formed impressions of Dr. Erasmus Darwin as a man and a polymath. He may have heard his father, Dr. Robert Darwin, talk about his grandfather's achievements as a physician, inventor, experimenter, and poet. He may have then read some of grandfather's books: *The Botanic Garden,* containing poems about plants; *The Temple of Nature; or, The Origin of Society,* a poem about the evolution of life; Dr. Erasmus's short biography of his son Charles Darwin[2]; and *Zoonomia; or, The Laws of Organic Life,* a massive treatise on the laws of health and disease in the animal kingdom, which also enunciated a theory of evolution. *Zoonomia* speculated that evolution was caused by diverse factors: artificial selection and sexual selection; the ability of organisms to adapt to their environment in the struggle for existence; and as a result of organisms exerting

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themselves, because of their desires and aversions, pleasures and pains. Several years after *Zoonomia,* Lamarck had put forward a somewhat similar theory of evolution, stressing adaptation and inheritance of acquired characteristics. Lamarck also postulated that organisms had a tendency to perfection and increased complexity; and that by "willing" they were able to adapt to their environment.[3]

During his youth, on at least one occasion, Darwin visited Breadsall Priory, the last home of his grandfather. Here Dr. Erasmus's widow showed him "the sofa and chair, still preserved in the same place," where her husband had suddenly become ill, and then lain down and died. The inscription on his tombstone in Breadsall Church (composed by his widow) stated that, along with his achievements and his books, he possessed a "zealous benevolence of . . . disposition", an "active humanity" in his conduct, and "many private virtues."[4]

By the time Darwin was 16, and a medical student at Edinburgh University, he had studied and "admired" the medical sections of *Zoonomia* for his course in "Materia Medica".[5] And he had heard his teachers refer to *Zoonomia,* and his father had observed that the book had "much influenced medical practice in England."[6] When he was 17–18 years old, and had given up studying medicine, he heard his Edinburgh friend, Dr. Robert Grant, extoll the evolutionary views of Lamarck. Listening to Dr. Grant affected him in two ways: he recollected that he had read similar views in *Zoonomia;*[7] and from then on he linked the evolutionary ideas of his grandfather with those of Lamarck. He then probably read Lamarck's first published discussion of evolution.[8]

During his years as a Divinity student at Cambridge, and for most of his years as a naturalist on the *Beagle,* he had no occasion to think about his grandfather. However, on January 12, 1836, the *Beagle* arrived in Sydney Cove, Australia, and Darwin went for a walk in the town of Sydney. Impressed by the industry and prosperity of the town, which had been founded 48 years previously, he wrote his sister Susan in England: "This is really a wonderful Colony; ancient Rome in her Imperial grandeur would not have been ashamed of such an offspring. When my Grandfather wrote the lines of 'Hope's visit to Sydney Cove' on Mr. Wedgwood's medallion he prophecyed most truly."[9] He was referring to a medallion made by the potter Josiah Wedgwood, on the occasion of Sydney's founding. This pictured Hope, encouraging Art and Labour under the influence of Peace, presiding over the new settlement. On the medallion there was inscribed a poem by Dr. Darwin, forecasting in vivid detail how Sydney would become a fluor-

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ishing city.[10] Darwin's letter reveals the admiration he felt for Dr. Darwin's prescience; and the possessiveness he felt for his grandfather —although writing to his sister he refers to "*my* grandfather." Also his lack of feeling for his maternal grandfather, Josiah Wedgwood, who is called "Mr. Wedgwood." He never (for unknown reasons) seems to have developed feeling for his maternal grandfather—although Wedgwood was distinguished in industry, science, and art.

In the fall of 1836, as the *Beagle* was nearing England, Darwin recollected that two scenes, which were "deeply impressed" in his mind, were the "primeval forests" of "Brazil, where the powers of life are predominant . . . [and] those of Tierra del Fuego, where death & decay prevail. Both are temples filled with the varied productions of the God of Nature."[11] He may have been influenced by the imagery in *The Temple of Nature,* where Dr. Darwin wrote how "Hunger" and "Death" made the world into "one great slaughter-house," and how the "powers of Life" then checked death, and dispensed the "bliss of Being" so as to create a varied landscape.[12]

After his return to England, during the years 1837–1839, Darwin experienced the busiest and most creative period of his life. He began writing up his *Beagle* scientific observations, and in a succession of notebooks he developed the theory of natural selection. He later recollected that, during these years, he reread the evolutionary parts of *Zoonomia* and was "much disappointed [at] the proportion of speculation being so large to the facts given."[13] However, his extant contemporary writings show that he was influenced by his grandfather in several different positive ways and that (to some degree at least) *Zoonomia* was a stimulus for his evolutionary thinking.

In the beginning of his first notebook he wrote "Zoonomia" across the first page and then noted *Zoonomia's* observation that sexual reproduction resulted in variation, whereas asexual reproduction allowed no variation.[14] This observation became the basis for his views on the supply of variation; and it was on variation that evolution must act. In the same notebook he referred to *Zoonomia's* observation that the sex of a child can be influenced by the thoughts of its parents at conception.[15] In his third notebook—in a spirit of friendly rivalry with Dr. Darwin—he commented: "Say my grandfathers expression of generat[ion] being highest end of organization *good expression* but does not include so many facts as mine."[16] He was especially proud of his ability to test his ideas against diverse facts.

In his notebooks he admired Lamarck's belief in evolution, and believed with Lamarck and his grandfather that acquired traits were

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inherited (although he was aware there were notable exceptions to this). He was critical of Lamarck's ideas of organisms adapting through willing to do so, and of a tendency to progression.[17] In his notebooks he did not compare Lamarck and his grandfather.

While critical of grandfather's penchant for speculation he also admired the latter's prescience: and he would tell his sister Catherine that the "prophetic spirit" of his grandfather was "the talk of London."[18] He viewed "the prophetic spirit in science" as "the highest endowment of lofty genius."[19] And he may have hoped that his ideas, like those of his grandfather, would become prophetic.

In July 1838 he spent 16 days in his family home in Shrewsbury, conversing with his father and sisters, Catherine and Susan. He now began to study evolution in humans, and he came to believe that certain human mental traits produced structural changes in the brain, and that these changes were then inherited. In a new notebook he wrote down observations of his father, and grandfather (as reported to him by his father) about aspects of normal human thinking and mental illness, and about the inheritance of mental traits.[20] At this time, his father may have shown him some of his grandfather's letters, and he may have compared his handwriting with that of his grandfather.

Back in his London home he wrote in his new notebook about his (presumed) inheritance of certain Darwin traits, from his father and grandfather, and his lack of Wedgwood traits. "Aug. 16th. As instance of hereditary mind. I a Darwin & take after my Father in heraldic principle, & Eras[21] a Wedgwood in many respects & some of Aunt Sarahs[22] cranks, & so is Catherine in some respects—. good instance when education same. —My handwriting same as Grandfather.—"[23] Darwin does not specify exactly what he means by "heraldic principle" (which refers to the Darwin family coat of arms), but possessing this "principle" makes him feel different from his older brother and younger sister. An inherited similarity of handwriting was, probably, the closest similarity that he had yet found between himself and his grandfather.[24] Six weeks after writing this passage—in September–October, 1838—he read Malthus' *Essay on Population* and originated his theory of natural selection.

For a time he continued to make notes about the inheritance of handwriting. On January 6, 1839, in the last of his notebooks on natural selection, he observed: "Handwriting is determined by most complicated circumstances as shown by difficulty in forging, yet handwriting said to be hereditary, shows well what minute details of structure are hereditary."[25] In July 1839, at the end of this notebook, he wrote:

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"Grandfathers handwriting to compare with my own."[26] At this point his 1837–1839 thoughts on his grandfather end. In these thoughts he had drawn close to grandfather: and this closeness had given him a confidence in his general intellectual abilities, and a special confidence in ability as an evolutionary thinker.

Over the next two decades he published important scientific works, and developed his theory of natural selection. In the course of working on his theory, he would sometimes refer to *Zoonomia* and the *Botanic Garden* for facts about animals and plants.[27] He also became more critical of the theory of Lamarck, calling it "nonsense",[28] as he saw how his theory differed from that of Lamarck.

2

Following the publication of the *Origin of Species* Darwin turned away from his grandfather, and criticized the latter's evolutionary ideas. How this came about will now be described.

The *Origin* was published on November 22, 1859, and at once became the object of intense controversy. On December 8–9 Darwin visited the British Museum and met with John Edward Gray, Keeper of Zoology at the Museum, and then almost 60 years old. Gray had encouraged and aided him in his previous scientific work on barnacles, and was radical in spirit and opposed to prevailing religious orthodoxy. He was, however, a systematist who had developed a firm conviction of the fixity of species.[29] Having just read the *Origin*, Gray said to Darwin with a laugh and a sneer: "You have just reproduced Lamarck's doctrine and nothing else, and here Lyell and others have been attacking him for twenty years, and because you say the very same thing, they are all coming round; it is the most ridiculous inconsistency."[30]

Darwin reported "old Gray's" remarks to his friend Joseph Hooker, and made no comment.[31] But he was deeply troubled. He knew that if the *Origin* was to succeed it had to be studied as an entirely new theory of evolution, and not as a revived version of Lamarck. He feared that his friend Charles Lyell—whose support he needed—would minimise the *Origin* by comparing it to Lamarck's theory (Lyell had criticized Lamarck for over 25 years[32]). He then further feared that—because of the similarity between his grandfather and Lamarck—his theory would also be compared to the ideas of his grandfather.[33]

On January 9, 1860 he wrote to his friend Thomas Huxley: "The History of Error is quite unimportant, but it is curious to observe how exactly & accurately my Grandfather (in Zoonomia Vol. I. p. 504 1794)

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gives Lamarcks theory. I will quote one sentence. Speaking of Birds Beaks, he says, 'All which seems to have been gradually produced during many generations by the perpetual endeavour of the creature to supply the want of food, & to have been delivered to their posterity with constant improvement of them for the purposes required.'[34] Lamarck published *Phil. Zoolog* in 1809. The Zoonomia was translated into many languages.—"[35] And nine days later, in a letter to the Reverend Baden Powell, Darwin commented: "Had I alluded to those authors who have maintained, with more or less ability, that species have not been separately created, I should have felt myself bound to have given some account of all; namely, passing over the ancients, Buffon (?) Lamarck (by the way his erroneous views were curiously anticipated by my grandfather), Geoffr[o]y St Hilaire & especially his son Isidore; Naudin; Keyserling; an American (name this minute forgotten); I believe some Germans; Vestiges of Creation; Herbert Spencer; & yourself."[36]

Early in February 1860 Darwin added to the *Origin* what he called "a short historical preface,"[37] in which—elaborating on what he had written to Huxley and Baden Powell—he summarised the evolutionary thoughts of some of his predecessors. He praised Lamarck as "the first man, whose view that species undergo change excited much attention." And he summarised Lamarck's ideas as follows: "With respect to the means of modification, he attributed something to the action of external conditions, something to the crossing of already existing forms, and much to use and disuse or the effects of habit. To this latter agency he seems to attribute all the beautiful adaptations in nature,—such as the long neck of the giraffe for browsing on the branches of trees." He then criticised Lamarck's belief in "a law of progressive development."[38] After his sentence on the giraffe he inserted a footnote: "It is curious how completely my grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, anticipated these erroneous views in his Zoonomia (Vol. I. pp. 500–510), published in 1794."[39]

This footnote omitted his ideological debt to grandfather, and made no mention of the latter's ideas on struggle and adaptation, and sexual selection. Yet, in 1860, Darwin could not afford to be a historian of ideas. In order to define and protect his identity as the discoverer of a new evolutionary theory it was essential that he disassociate himself from grandfather and Lamarck.

Darwin's historical comments were first published in 1860 as a "Preface" to two new publications of the *Origin;* the first German edition,[40] and the fourth American printing.[41] The comments then

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appeared as "An Historical Sketch of the recent Progress of Opinion on the Origin of Species", in the third, 1861, English edition of the *Origin.*[42] And then in subsequent editions.

The attack that Darwin had anticipated occurred in July 1860 when the Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, published a long review of the *Origin* in the prestigious *Quarterly Review,* which satirically equated Darwin with his grandfather. "If we go back two generations," Wilberforce wrote, "we find the ingenious grandsire of the author of the 'Origin of Species' speculating on the same subject, and almost in the same manner with his more daring descendent."[43] Wilberforce quoted some of Dr. Darwin's evolutionary ideas, and a parody of these by Dr. Darwin's "Anti-Jacobin" critics; and he, then, commented that this parody "admirably" applied to the ideas of the *Origin.*[44] After reading this comparison, Darwin may have consoled himself by thinking of Germans and Americans reading his *Origin* "Preface", and he joked about the *Quarterly* with his friends. "The 'Quarterly'," he wrote Huxley, "is uncommonly clever; and I chuckled much at the way my grandfather and self are quizzed."[45] He sent the *Quarterly* to his friend Lyell with the comment: "It may amuse you. The Anti-Jacobin part amused me."[46] He then told his Downe friend, the Reverend J. Brodie Innes, that "the B. of Oxford made really splendid fun of me and my grandfather."[47]

Several years later, Adam Sedgwick—Darwin's once friend, and now bitter critic—would sarcastically tell the African explorer, David Livingstone, that the *Origin's* theory had appeared "far better in the poetry of the grandfather, than . . . in the prose of the grandson."[48]

Not all comparisons of Darwin and his grandfather were critical. In December 1860 Dr. John Dowson gave a lecture on Dr. Erasmus Darwin to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Whitby. He began by describing Dr. Darwin as "a speculative philosopher and a poet, as well as a practical physician and he has just now . . . a particular claim to our notice; for one of the boldest, not to say wildest of his hypotheses has been lately revived, and supported by so many additional facts, that it has probably been discussed in every Philosophical Society in England, except our own, and certainly in every private scientific circle."[49] Darwin read this Lecture after it was published in 1861, and he would say that it contained "many useful references and remarks."[50]

In 1863 Lyell published *The Antiquity of Man,* which summarised the evolutionary ideas of Lamarck, and "recent modifications of the Lamarckian theory"—including the theory of natural selection.[51] Dar-

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win then wrote Lyell: "you refer repeatedly to my view as a modification of Lamarck's doctrine of development and progression . . . Plato, Buffon, my grandfather before Lamarck, and others propounded the *obvious* views that if species were not created separately they must have descended from other species, and I can see nothing else in common between the 'Origin' and Lamarck. I believe this way of putting the case is very injurious to its acceptance, as it implies necessary progression . . ."[52] Lyell retorted that Lamarck held some "very Darwinian" thoughts which were "surely above the standard of his times."[53] After this, for several years Darwin and Lyell avoided discussing evolutionary ideas.

As the *Origin* debate continued, through the late 1860s and into the 1870s, the comparisons of Darwin with Lamarck and his grandfather waned. Other issues were now debated; and perhaps Darwin's "Historical Sketch" criticisms of Dr. Darwin and Lamarck served to discourage such comparisons.

In 1872 Darwin retired from the *Origin* debate, and until his death in 1882 devoted most of his working time to experimenting on plants. During this decade he again drew close to his grandfather. In May–August, 1876, he wrote his *Autobiography.* He wanted to leave an account of himself for his children, and grandchildren—in May he had learned that he was going to become a grandfather for the first time.[54] Thinking about his grandchildren reading his *Autobiography* led him to think of himself and his grandfather. "I know", he wrote in the beginning of the *Autobiography,* "that it would have interested me greatly to have read even so short and dull a sketch of the mind of my grandfather written by himself, and what he thought and did how he worked."[55]

Now that his evolutionary ideas were established, and he did not have to defend these ideas against critics, and now that he was writing only for his family (he did not expect his *Autobiography* to be published in his lifetime), he could be more positive in evaluating his relationship to his grandfather. In his *Autobiography,* after describing his early reactions to the evolutionary views of *Zoonomia,* he commented: "it is probable that . . . hearing rather early in life such views maintained and praised may have favoured my upholding them under a different form in my *Origin of Species.*"[56] To state that he had upheld the evolutionary ideas of *Zoonomia* "under a different form" was the most balanced—and the truest—statement about the influence of his grandfather that he would ever make.

Darwin probably regarded the above comments as his final thoughts

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on Dr. Erasmus Darwin. However three years after writing his *Autobiography,* because of his acquaintance with Dr. Ernst Krause, he suddenly and unexpectedly became his grandfather's biographer.

3

In March 1877 Darwin received a letter from Dr. Ernst Krause, a German botanist and science writer,[57] and one of the editors of *Kosmos*—a new German science periodical which featured articles on the Darwinian theory of evolution. Dr. Krause expressed his admiration for Darwin's work and requested an article for *Kosmos.* Darwin promptly replied: "I thank you cordially for your very kind expression towards me, but your estimation of my scientific work is much too high. It would give me pleasure to aid your new Journal; but I really have at present nothing to say which is worth printing. I have been so accustomed to collect materials for books instead of for detached papers that it is a very rare event for me to write anything in a Journal. But I will not forget your wish should any fitting occasion arise."[58] He and Krause then exchanged several letters concerning the origin of color vision in humans. Then for several years there was no further correspondence.

In February 1879 *Kosmos* published a special issue commemorating Darwin's seventieth birthday, which contained a biography of him by Professor Wilhelm Preyer, and an essay by Dr. Krause entitled "Erasmus Darwin grandfather and precursor of Charles Darwin. A contribution to the history of the descent theory."[59] Krause began his essay by quoting the *Origin's,* "Historical Sketch", assertion that Dr. Darwin had "anticipated" the "erroneous" views of Lamarck. He interpreted this as follows: "Well aware of the author's reserve and modesty of expression, particularly when he speaks pro-domo, I immediately read between the lines that this ancestor must have made considerable contributions towards the 'Pre-history of Darwin's theory' . . . I provided myself with his writings and found a rare delight in them . . . how much . . . must the grandson have been impressed by the works of Erasmus Darwin with their constantly recurring premonitions of a new, higher view of nature . . . in him there already lived the same restless drive for scientific research in the same biological direction as in the grandson, and one may safely assume that the latter acquired a spiritual legacy and carried out a program which his grandfather had conceived and transmitted to him. One can find a parallel for almost every work of the young Darwin in at least one chapter of each of the works of the older . . . There is, however, one important

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difference in the interpretation of nature. The elder Darwin was a Lamarckian, or to be more precise, Jean Lamarck was a Darwinian of the older school, since he merely developed the ideas of Erasmus Darwin, albeit with a great deal of ingenuity, and it is to the latter that the honor is due for being the first to draw up a complete system of the theory of evolution."[60] Krause then proceeded to eulogise the life and work of Dr. Darwin.

Krause sent Darwin a copy of *Kosmos.*[61] When the latter read Krause's essay his positive feelings for his grandfather—which he had stated 3 years earlier in his *Autobiography*—were further stimulated. On March 9, 1879, Darwin wrote a letter to Krause, thanking him "for the honor which you have conferred on my grandfather," and saying that he and his brother Erasmus wished to translate the Essay into English and publish it in England, "in order to do honor to our Grandfather."[62] His letter was strikingly free of the negative thoughts about his grandfather that he had expressed 20 years previously. Krause replied granting permission for translation, and saying that—since he intended to revise his essay—he required a copy of Anna Seward's *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Darwin.*[63] This book, published in 1804, was the main published source of information about Dr. Darwin's life.

On March 14, Darwin responded to Krause by writing that he was "wholly and shamefully ignorent of my grandfather's life", and that he did not possess Seward's *Memoirs,* but that he would search for a second hand copy (he had previously, at some unknown date, read the *Memoirs*). "But please to observe," he informed Krause, "I distinctly remember my father saying that this life was not only grossly incorrect, but maliciously false."[64]

On March 19, having obtained a copy of the *Memoirs* from a lending library, he first wrote Krause of his impressions of the book: "I have now re-read it, & it is a wretched production. I have also read the correspondence which passed between my father, other members of the family and Miss Seward, they are unanimous that it is full of inaccuracies even to his age when he died.[65] Unfortunately they do not give particulars with the exception about one malignant account of my grandfather's behaviour on hearing of his son's death; and this they prove by witnesses to be absolutely false.[66] Miss Seward published a retraction,[67] but this seems to have been universally forgotten." Darwin then informed Krause of a decision which he had just made: "In order to have an opportunity of contradicting Miss Seward, I intend to publish a short preface to the translation of your essay; and

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in this I will give a few particulars about the family together with a few remarks by my father with respect to Eras Darwin, and possibly two or three letters. I do not think you could work up these scanty materials in your account, because I must give them on my own authority. I doubt whether my preface will be worth translating into German, but when written I would of course send it to you, if you so wish, either to read or to have translated."[68] Krause then encouraged Darwin to proceed as rapidly as possible with his account of his grandfather.[69]

On March 27—as his preface about his grandfather began to take form in his mind—he wrote Krause: "I am somewhat afraid of my preface and your work interfering with each other; but I shall not say one word about evolution and pure science—nor about Dr. D's poetry. I shall almost confine myself to his character, anecdotes about him, and letters from him."[70] In not writing about his grandfather's evolutionary thoughts he was excluding an area about which he had mental conflicts, and freeing himself to write about those aspects of his grandfather—"what he thought and did and how he worked"—about which he felt a deep and positive interest. He wrote his cousin Reginald Darwin[71] that his "chief object" in the preface would be "to contradict flatly some calumnies by Miss Seward." "I am," he told Reginald, "growing a very old man but keep as yet my mental faculties tolerably clear."[72]

From the end of March through April, he collected family materials about his grandfather. These included memories of what his father had said, and some notes made by the latter at the time of his grandfather's death. Opening an old box from his father (which he had not previously opened because his father had marked it "Old Deeds"), he found that it contained many letters of his grandfather.[73] He wrote to different Darwin family members for documents, and obtained recollections of Dr. Darwin by his daughter Violetta. His cousin Reginald sent him grandfather's Commonplace Book which contained medical and scientific notes, and sketches for inventions. Reading this Book, Darwin told Reginald, was "like having communion with the dead . . . [it] has taught me a great deal about the occupations and tastes of our grandfather." He then told Reginald: "The more I read of Dr. D. the higher he rises in my estimation."[74]

On May 2nd he began writing about his grandfather, stopping his other work. It was his first attempt at biography, and the first time he had ever stopped science in order to do non-scientific work. He doubted his ability as a biographer, and he was uncertain and confused about the form that his Preface should take. On May 9th he wrote

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Krause: "Possibly you might like to take my m.s. and cut it up and work it into your essay or give them as a Preface or as supplement . . ."[75] Five days later he told Krause: "you have my *complete* consent to do anything you like with my Preliminary Notice to print it at the beginning or at the end of your article—to cut it up or use the facts or insert parts *anywhere* you like."[76] Krause tactfully encouraged him to go on with his writing,[77] and despite his misgivings he persevered. By June 5th he had completed a manuscript which he entitled "Life of Erasmus Darwin."[78] In July he received the first printing—about 70 galley pages—of his work.[79]

In the "Life" Darwin, first of all, succinctly describes Dr. Darwin's life and work (excluding his writing on evolution), and corrects the errors and criticism of Anna Seward and others. He concisely evaluates the intellectual attributes of his grandfather as follows: "the vividness of his imagination seems to have been one of his pre-eminent characteristics. This led to his great originality of thought, his prophetic spirit both in science and in the mechanical arts, and to his overpowering tendency to theorise and generalise. Nevertheless his remarks . . . on the value of experiments and the use of hypotheses show that he had the true spirit of a philosopher. That he possessed uncommon powers of observation must be admitted. The diversity of the subjects to which he attended is surprising. But of all his characteristics, the incessant activity or energy of his mind was, perhaps, the most remarkable."[80]

Darwin also sketches a "true picture" of the "moral qualities" of his grandfather. This includes such "blemishes"[81] as Dr. Darwin's early "harsh and imperious" treatment of his son Robert, his concealment of his inner feelings, and his "vein of reserve."[82] On "the more favourable side of the picture," Dr. Darwin was: "remarkably free from vanity, conceit, or display";[83] charitable, generous, and benevolent toward many needy individuals; and capable of "long continued friendship with good and able men."[84] "The love of woman," Darwin writes, "is a very different affair from friendship, and my grandfather seems to have been capable of the most ardent love of this kind. This is seen in his many MS. verses addressed to his second wife, and about her, before they were married."[85] The above intellectual and moral assessments of Dr. Darwin are remarkably rounded, objective, and accurate.

Near the end of the "Life" Darwin appraised his grandfather's character and work in a passionate aperçu.

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"His energy was unbounded. In his day he was esteemed a great poet. As a physician, he was eminent in the noble art of alleviating human suffering. He was in advance of his time in urging sanitary arrangements and in inculcating temperance. He was opposed to any restraint of the insane, excepting as far as was absolutely necessary. He strongly advised a tender system of education. With his prophetic spirit, he anticipated many new and now admitted scientific truths, as well as some mechanical inventions. He seems to have been the first man who urged the use of phosphate of lime in agriculture, which has proved of such great importance to the country. He was highly benevolent, and retained the friendship of many distinguished men during his whole life. He strongly insisted on humanity to the lower animals. He earnestly admired philanthropy, and abhorred slavery. But he was unorthodox; and as soon as the grave closed over him he was grossly calumniated. Such was the state of Christian feeling in this country at the beginning of the present century; we may at least hope that nothing of the kind now prevails."[86]

Darwin's belief in, and deep interest about, the inheritance (and also the non-inheritance) of certain mental traits, then caused him to make some observations about the mental traits of some of the relations of his grandfather. He noted that grandfather's father, Robert Darwin, had "some taste for science."[87] Grandfather's older brother, Robert Waring Darwin, "had a strong taste for poetry . . . also cultivated botany, and when an oldish man he published his 'Principia Botanica' . . . the work contains many curious notes on biology—a subject wholly neglected in England in the last century. The public, moreover, appreciated the book, as the copy in my possession is the third edition."[88] Darwin then wrote: "As it is interesting to see how far Erasmus Darwin transmitted his characteristic qualities of mind to his descendents, I will give a short account of his children."[89] His account mainly sketches the mental traits of each of the three sons from grandfather's first marriage (passing over Dr. Darwin's 2 illegitimate daughters by a "Mrs. Parker," and the 4 sons and 3 daughters by his second marriage).

The first son, Charles Darwin, "inherited from his father a strong taste for various branches of science, for writing verses, and for mechanics . . . At a very early age he collected specimens of all kinds. When he was 16 he was sent for a year to Oxford, but he did not like the place and 'thought that the vigour of the mind languished in the pursuit of classical elegance, like Hercules at the distaff, and sighed to be removed to the robuster exercise of the medical school at Edin-

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burgh' [Darwin here quotes from grandfather's biographical sketch of Charles]."[90] Dr. Darwin's second son, Erasmus, "though he wrote poetry . . . seems to have had none of the other tastes of his father," and suicided at the age of 40.[91]

Darwin describes grandfather's third son, who would become his father, as follows: "Robert Waring Darwin (born 1766) did not inherit from his father any aptitude for poetry or mechanics, nor did he possess, as I think a scientific mind, though he had a strong taste for flowers and gardening. He published . . . a paper on Ocular Spectra, which Wheatstone told me was a remarkable production for the period; but I believe that he was largely aided in writing it by his father. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1788. I cannot analyse why my father's mind did not appear to me fitted for advancing science; for he was fond of theorising, and was incomparably the most acute observer that I ever knew. But his powers of observation were all turned to the practice of medicine, and still more closely to human character."[92] Darwin then elaborated on his father's benevolence and power of discerning human traits.[93]

After describing the scientific shortcomings of his father, Darwin wrote about himself: "As we have been here considering how much or how little the same tastes and disposition prevail in the same family, I may be permitted to add that from my earliest days I had the strongest desire to collect objects of natural history, and this was certainly innate or spontaneous, being probably inherited from my grandfather. Some of my sons have exhibited an apparently innate taste for science. Members of the family have been elected Fellows of the Royal Society for four successive generations."[94]

In his *Autobiography* Darwin had recollected how his "desire to collect objects of natural history" had become "well developed" by the age of eight and a half, and he described it as follows: "I tried to make out the names of plants, and collected all sorts of things, shells, seals, franks, coins, and minerals. The passion for collecting, which leads a man to be a systematic naturalist, a virtuoso or a miser, was very strong in me, and was clearly innate, as none of my sisters or brothers ever had this taste."[95] His childhood "passion" for collecting was, indeed, the beginning of his career as a "systematic naturalist", and then as an evolutionary thinker.

From the above it seems evident that Darwin felt that many of his important mental traits had been inherited from his grandfather, especially those traits which made him a man of science (in the "Life", for

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some unknown reason, there is no mention of handwriting similarity between himself and grandfather). Darwin also thought that inherited mental traits needed the proper environmental stimulus to make them effective. It seems likely that, when he described how uncle Charles had "languished in the pursuit of classical elegance" at Oxford, he may have reminded himself of how he had mentally languished at Dr. Butler's school in Shrewsbury. "Nothing," he had written in his *Autobiography,* "could have been worse for the development of my mind than Dr. Butler's school, as it was strictly classical . . . the school as a means of education to me was simply a blank."[96]

In July 1879 Darwin showed the galley pages of his "Life of Erasmus Darwin" to members of his family. His brother Erasmus found everything interesting and wanted nothing omitted.[97] His son Leonard thought that parts were only of interest for the family and not for the public, and suggested that Darwin have his daughter Henrietta edit the work (Leonard also urged his father to retain some copies of the galleys, "for your children and children's children").[98] Darwin told Leonard that he was "ready to shorten" this work, "but at present I cannot agree that it is not worth while to say something about the family—I know that I myself, and some others, always wish to hear this."[99]

Darwin then asked Henrietta to edit the "Life." Eight or nine years previously he had been impressed, and grateful, for her editing of his *Descent of Man.*[100] Henrietta did not share her father's interest in Dr. Darwin—she found the "Life" to be "dull"[101]—and she held conventional views on religious and emotional matters. She proceeded to excise about twelve percent of the "Life." Her excisions included: the passages about Dr. Darwin's "ardent love" for women; the passionate aperçu with its reference to religious "unorthodoxy"; the passages in which Darwin described his intellectual debt to his grandfather; and other passages of admiration for Dr. Darwin. Henrietta also rearranged parts of the work in a confusing manner. Darwin seems to have submitted, without protest, to all of her changes.

The reasons for his submission were, probably, variform and complex. He had always been uncertain about being the biographer of his grandfather. He felt especially uncertain about what events in Dr. Darwin's life were only of family interest, and what of more public and popular interest. He hoped that his "Life" would be widely read and make him money. He may have thought that Henrietta—because of her more detached view of Dr. Darwin—may have understood better than he did what would make his "Life" a popular book. He may

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have especially valued Henrietta's opinion on what the public would accept in matters of "love" and religion on his grandfather. Darwin also may have come to think that his feelings of admiration for—and positive identification with—his grandfather were too intense and required emmendation and qualification. Throughout his life, when he expressed positive feelings about himself, he would then qualify these feelings.

Darwin then worried whether his biography should proceed or precede the work of Krause,[102] and finally decided on the second course.[103] He had Krause greatly condense his history of evolutionary thought.[104] Krause's sympathetic, and perceptive, comparison of Darwin and his grandfather was, however, retained: "The unusual circumstances that a grandfather should be the intellectual precursor of his grandson in questions which now-a-days more than any others move the minds of men, must of itself suffice to excite the liveliest interest. But at the same time it must be pointed out that in this fact we have not the smallest ground for depreciating the labors of the man who has shed a new lustre upon the name of his grandfather. It is one thing to establish hypotheses and theories out of the fullness of one's fancy, even when supported by a very considerable knowledge of nature, an another to demonstrate them by an enormous number of facts, and carry them to such a degree of probability as to satisfy those most capable of judging."[105]

The book on Erasmus Darwin was published in November 1879, with the title page, "Erasmus Darwin, by Ernst Krause," followed in smaller type by "with a preliminary notice by Charles Darwin." In point of fact the 127 page "preliminary notice" was longer and contained more factual information than the 86 page essay which it prefaced.

Darwin sent pre-publication copies of *Erasmus Darwin* to his friends and relations, and they responded with approving letters. He told Joseph Hooker: "Your praise of the Life of Dr. D. has pleased me exceedingly, for I despised my work, and thought myself a perfect fool to have undertaken such a job."[106] His cousin Francis Galton wrote him that his biography was "a new order of writing," "a marvel of condensation," and "scientifically accurate in its treatment."[107] He replied to Galton: "I am *extremely* glad that you approve of this little life of our grandfather; for I have been repenting that I ever undertook it as work quite beyond my tether. The first set of proof sheets was a good deal fuller, but I followed my family's advice and struck out much."[108] *Erasmus Darwin* was then favorably reviewed and commented on,

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except for the attacks of Samuel Butler.[109] However it only sold 800 to 900 copies, perhaps the lowest scale of any of Darwin's post *Origin of Species* books.

In an April 1880 letter to Krause, Darwin first acknowledged receiving a copy of the German translation of their book—"excellently got up and looks a good deal better than the English edition"—and he reported: "a very favorable review [of the American edition of *Erasmus Darwin*] has just appeared in the U. States in the Nation, one of the very best of the Literary Journals."[110] (*The Nation* had commented that Darwin's "entertaining and agreeable" biography gave "a very good picture" of "a man of genius," who "played an interesting and important part in the early development of modern science."[111])

At the end of his letter Darwin made some final remarks about his collaboration with Krause. He "cordially" thanked the latter "for having placed my grandfather's merits on a sure and lasting foundation"; and "for your uniform and most kind consideration for every one of my wishes . . ."[112] Without Krause's initial stimulus, and then constant encouragement and cooperation, Darwin would probably have never undertaken and then completed the work of writing his grandfather's biography.

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NOTES

1. Two comparisons of Darwin and his grandfather are: Nora Barlow, ed., *Autobiography of Charles Darwin,* Appendix 1, "On Charles Darwin and his grandfather Dr. Erasmus Darwin" (London: Collins, 1958), pp. 149–167; Desmond King-Hele, *Doctor of Revolution: The Life and Genius of Erasmus Darwin* (London: Faber & Faber, 1977), pp. 307–315.
2. The obituary and biography of Charles Darwin (1758–1778), unsigned but presumed to be written by Erasmus Darwin, appears as an addendum to Charles Darwin, *Experiments Establishing a Criterion Between Mucaginous and Purulent*

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Matter, and An Account of the Retrograde Motions of the Absorbent Vessels of Animal Bodies in Some Diseases (Litchfield, 1780), pp. 127–134.

3. A summary of the evolutionary ideas of Erasmus Darwin and Lamarck is contained in: Sir Gavin de Beer, *Charles Darwin: Evolution by Natural Selection* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1964), pp. 4–7.
4. Ernst Krause, *Erasmus Darwin.* With a Preliminary Notice by Charles Darwin (New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1880), p. 127. Hereafter cited as Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin.*
5. Ralph Colp, Jr., *To Be an Invalid: The Illness of Charles Darwin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 4.
6. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), p. 105.
7. Barlow *Autobiography* (n. 1), p. 49.
8. Darwin read Lamarck's *Systême des animaux sans vertèbres, ou tableau general des classes, des ordres et des genres de ces animaux* (Paris, 1801), which contained a lecture by Lamarck delivered at the Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, on May 12, 1800. In this lecture, Lamarck first publicly enunciated his evolutionary views. Frank N. Egerton, 111, "Darwin's early reading of Lamarck," *Isis,* 1976, 67, pp. 452–456.
9. Nora Barlow, ed., *Charles Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), p. 132.
10. Ibid., p. 134.
11. Nora Barlow, ed., *Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 427.
12. Erasmus Darwin, *The Temple of Nature or the Origin of Society* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1804), pp. 107 and 112–113.
13. Barlow, *Autobiography* (n. 1), p. 49.
14. Sir Gavin de Beer, ed., *Darwin's Notebooks on Transmutation of Species. Part I.* (London: British Museum (Natural History) 1960), pp. 1–2 (original pagination). For a discussion of Darwin's thinking in the beginning of his first notebook see David Kohn, "Theories to Work By: Rejected Theories, Reproduction, and Darwin's Path to Natural Selection," *Studies in the History of Biology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 4, pp. 81–87.
15. de Beer, *Darwin's Notebooks 1* (n. 14), p. 219; Kohn, "Theories to Work By" (n. 14), note 97, p. 164.
16. Sir Gavin de Beer, ed., *Darwin's Notebooks on Transmutation of Species. Part III.* (London: British Museum (Natural History) 1960), p. 70.
17. For a summary of Darwin's opinions on Lamarck at this time see: Howard E. Gruber and Paul H. Barrett, *Darwin on Man: A Psychological Study of Scientific Creativity* (New York: Dutton, 1974), pp. 192–195.
18. Charles Darwin to his sister Catherine Darwin, [November 22, 1846], Darwin Papers, Cambridge University Library, Box 92.
19. Sir Gavin de Beer, ed., *Darwin's Notebooks on Transmutation of Species. Part II.* (London: British Museum (Natural History) 1960), p. 119.
20. Gruber, *Darwin on Man* (n. 17), pp. 268–270. In this notebook he also noted observations of his grandfather on the perception of beauty, and on some activities of the common wasp. Forty two years later, in a letter to the French entomologist J. H. Fabre, he would recollect, again, his grandfather's observations on the wasp. Gruber, *Darwin on Man* (n. 17) pp. 277, 278, and note (49),

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p. 300; Francis Darwin, ed. *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896), 2 vols., 2, pp. 397–398.

21. Darwin's brother, Erasmus Alvey Darwin.
22. Probably Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood (1778–1856), Darwin's maternal aunt.
23. Gruber, *Darwin on Man* (n. 17), p. 281.
24. Darwin's observations suggest that his grandfather's handwriting must have been well known to him. I showed Mr. Karl Aschaffenburg, graphologist, samples of the handwriting of Darwin and his grandfather when both were about thirty. After studying these samples he commented: "I think that there is indeed *some* general resemblance. Darwin was such an unusually acute observer that he would hardly make a remark like that without good reason. I imagine that he was struck by certain forms, like the 'd', 'y', 'g', or 'n'. But there are other similarities, like the spacing of the lines, lines dropping at the end, the practice occasionally to narrow the letters of the last words in a line to squeeze them into the remaining limited space, the long t- bars, etc. The old graphologists found that the narrowing of the last letters in a line was an expression of a tight economic situation. People would be economical with space, would use every bit of it, would get as much out of it as possible." Thea Stein Lewinson, a graphologist who has studied the writing of Darwin and his grandfather, suggests that both may have learned the same letterforms of the alphabet at school, and that Darwin may have consciously tried to imitate his grandfather's writing.
25. Sir Gavin de Beer, ed., *Darwin's Notebooks on Transmutation of Species. Part IV.* (London: British Museum (Natural History) 1960), p. 89.
26. Ibid., inside back cover of this notebook. Darwin would continue to think about the inheritance of handwriting, and he would later write: "On what a curious combination of corporeal structure, mental character, and training, must handwriting depend! yet every one must have noted the occasional close similarity of the handwriting in father and son, although the father had not taught his son. A great collector of franks assured me that in his collection there were several franks of father and son hardly distinguishable except by their dates. Hofacker, in Germany, remarks on the inheritance of handwriting . . ." Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication* (London: John Murray, 1868), 2 vols., 2, p. 6. "There is no more improbability in the effects of the continued use of the vocal and mental organs being inherited, than in the case of handwriting, which depends partly on the structure of the hand and partly on the disposition of the mind; and hand-writing is certainly inherited." Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: John Murray, 1871), 2 vols., 1, p. 58. Darwin does not specify what in handwriting he felt was inherited, and what distinguished it from the learned part.
27. Robert C. Stauffer, ed., *Charles Darwin's Natural Selection.* Being the *second part of his big species book written from 1856 to 1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 477, note 4, 479, note 2; King-Hele, *Doctor of Revolution* (n. 1), p. 310.
28. Darwin, *Life and Letters* (n. 20), 1, p. 384.
29. Albert E. Gunther, *A Century of Zoology at the British Museum: Through The Lives of Two Keepers* (Folkestone: Dawsons, 1975), pp. 176–177, 453–456.

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30. Darwin, *Life and Letters,* 2, p. 38.
31. Ibid., p. 38.
32. Lyell had first published a detailed criticism of Lamarck's theory of evolution in the second volume of his *Principles of Geology* (1832), and he continued this criticism through the successive editions of the *Principles* (the ninth edition was published in 1853). In none of his criticisms of Lamarck, however, did Lyell mention the evolutionary ideas of Erasmus Darwin. He seems to have ignored these ideas. Darwin was in frequent contact with Lyell, and carefully studied all editions of the *Principles.*
33. Before the publication of *The Origin of Species,* although the evolutionary ideas of Lamarck were frequently discussed, the evolutionary ideas of Erasmus Darwin seem not to have been commented on. Darwin correctly foresaw that, once his evolutionary ideas were made public, they would be criticised as being similar to the evolutionary concepts of both Lamarck and his grandfather.
34. In Darwin's copy of *Zoonomia,* vol. 1, p. 504, kept in the Cambridge University Library, this passage is marked with several lines, and opposite it, in the margin of the page, Darwin wrote "Lamarck!!" At the bottom of the same page Darwin wrote: "Lamarck concisely forestalled by my grandfather." There is no way of dating these comments.
35. Darwin to Huxley, Jan. (?) 9th to 1860 (?). Published in Francis Darwin and A. C. Seward, ed., *More Letters of Charles Darwin* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1903), 2 vols., 1, p. 125. Transcribed from the original manuscript in the Huxley Papers, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London. In the printed version Lamarck's book is titled *"Hist. Zooolog.",* while in the manuscript this seems to read "Phil. Zoolog." (the title of Lamarck's book was *Philosophie Zoologique*). The dating of this letter is difficult because it has no year, it is uncertain whether the month is "Jan" or "June", and only the number "9" is clear. Darwin and Seward, *More Letters,* dated this letter June 9, 1859. Warren R. Dawson, in his *Catalogue of the Huxley Papers* (1946), dates the letter Jan. 9, 1860. Dawson's date seems correct for several reasons. Darwin would be likely to comment on the evolutionary ideas of Lamarck and Dr. Darwin after Huxley had read the *Origin* and supported its ideas. Then, at the end of the letter there is this unpublished passage: "Grote, the Historian, was much struck with the article in the Times—" This probably refers to Huxley's review of the *Origin,* "The Darwinian Hypothesis," published in *The Times,* December 26, 1859.
36. Sir Gavin de Beer, ed., "Some Unpublished Letters of Charles Darwin," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London,* 1959, 14, pp. 52–53.
37. In his February 14, 1860 letter to H. G. Bronn, the German translator of the *Origin,* Darwin writes that he is sending a "short historical preface" for inclusion in the German edition of the *Origin.* (Darwin, *Life and Letters,* 2, p. 72). In an unpublished letter to Asa Gray, in the Gray Herbarium, Harvard University, probably written in February 15, 1860, Darwin writes: "I now send my short Historical Preface" for inclusion in the new American printing of the *Origin.* (I thank Dr. Frederick-Burkhardt for informing me of the likely date of this letter).
38. *The Origin of Species* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860). The title page reads "New Edition, Revised And Augmented By The Author". The text

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begins with a "Preface. Contributed By The Author To This American Edition", pp. v–xi, pp. v and vi.

39. Ibid., p. vi.
40. First German translation of the *Origin,* by H. G. Bronn, (Stuttgart: E. Schweizerbart, 1860), "Vorrede des Verfassers," p. 2.
41. The *Origin of Species* (n. 38).
42. The *Origin of Species* (London: John Murray, 1861). The title page reads, "Third Edition, With Additions And Corrections." The text begins with "An Historical Sketch Of The Recent Progress Of Opinion On The Origin Of Species," pp. xii–xix, xii–xiv. In his previous "Preface" Darwin had inserted his footnote on his grandfather before mentioning Lamarck's belief in "a law of progressive development", and stated that grandfather had anticipated Lamarck's "erroneous views." In the "Historical Sketch" he inserted his footnote after all of his comments on Lamarck, and he wrote that grandfather anticipated "the erroneous grounds of opinion, and the views of Lamarck." He thus slightly increased his negative comments on his grandfather, and inferred that grandfather anticipated all of Lamarck's "erroneous" ideas. This increased negativity was, perhaps, caused by an increased need to separate himself from grandfather and Lamarck because of the Wilberforce attack. See text on this.
43. *The Quarterly Review,* Vol. 108, No. 215, July–October, 1860, pp. 225–264, 254.
44. Ibid., pp. 254–255.
45. Darwin and Seward, *More Letters* (n. 35), 1, p. 156.
46. Darwin, *Life and Letters* (n. 20), 2, p. 124.
47. Robert M. Stecher, "The Darwin-Innes Letters: The Correspondence of an Evolutionist with his Vicar, 1848–1884", *Annals of Science,* 17, 1961, p. 207.
48. John W. Clark and Thomas M. Hughes, *The Life and Letters of Adam Sedgwick* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890), 2 vols., 2, p. 411.
49. John Dowson, *Erasmus Darwin: Philosopher, Poet, And Physician.* A Lecture To The Literary and Philosophical Society of Whitby (Whitby: Horne & Son, 1861), p. 3. This brochure contained numerous quotations from the evolutionary writings of Dr. Darwin.
50. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), p. iv. Darwin made these favorable comments on Dr. Dowson's brochure in 1879, when his attitude on his grandfather's evolutionary ideas had changed. It is not known what he thought of the brochure in the 1860s. Nothing is known about the relationship between him and Dr. Dowson.
51. Sir Charles Lyell, *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation* (London: John Murray, 1863), p. 3.
52. Darwin, *Life and Letters* (n. 20), 2, pp. 198–199.
53. Katherine M. Lyell, *Life, Letters and Journals of Sir Charles Lyell, Bart.* (London: John Murray, 1881), 2 vols., 2, pp. 363–364.
54. Darwin's first grandchild, Bernard Richard Meiron Darwin, was born on September 7, 1876. Bernard's father was Darwin's son, Francis Darwin, and his mother was Francis' wife Amy (Amy Richenda Ruck).
55. Barlow, *Autobiography* (n. 1), p. 21.
56. Ibid., p. 49.
57. Ernst Krause, 1839–1903.

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58. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, March 25, 1877, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Hereafter cited as Huntington Library.
59. *Kosmos* (Leipzig, Germany), February, 1879, p. 397.
60. Ibid., pp. 397–398.
61. Krause to Darwin, Berlin N.O., Friedenstrasse, 10.11, 10 February, 1879; Cambridge University Library, DAR 92, fol. 14.63.
62. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, March 9, 1879, Huntington Library.
63. Krause to Darwin, Berlin N.O., Friedenstrasse 10. 11, 12 March, 1879.
64. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, March 14, 1879, Huntington Library.
65. "Dr. Darwin died in his sixty-ninth year." Anna Seward, *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Darwin,* Chiefly during his Residence at Lichfield, with Anecdotes of his Friends, and Criticisms on his Writings (London: J. Johnson, 1804), p. 429. Dr. Darwin was over 70 when he died.
66. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), pp. 72–74. This cites the eyewitness evidence of Dr. Darwin's daughter Emma, on the behaviour of her father when he received news of his son's death.
67. Seward's retraction was published in *Monthly Magazine,* 1804, p. 378, and is cited in Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), p. 74, footnote. Anna Seward, *Letters of Anna Seward* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1811), 6 vol.s, vol. 6, pp. 135–140, discusses how she made her error and then wrote her retraction, In her *Memoirs* Seward accuses Dr. Darwin of appropriating several of her verses and publishing them in his *Botanic Garden,* without any acknowledgment to her (*Memoirs,* p. 132). Darwin refutes this in *Erasmus Darwin,* pp. 90–92.
68. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, March 19, 1879, Huntington Library. In this letter Darwin writes: "I send by this post a duplicate copy of a lecture published in 1861 [Dowson, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 49)], which I remembered after writing to you. I have not yet succeeded in getting a copy of Miss Seward for you." He never seems to have been able to obtain a copy of *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Darwin* for Krause.
69. Krause to Darwin, Berlin N.O., Friedenstrasse, 10. 11, 24 March, 1879; Cambridge University Library, DAR 92, fol. 14.63. Throughout their correspondence Krause wrote in German and Darwin in English. Each addressed the other in a warm, yet formal, manner.
70. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, March 27, 1879, Huntington Library. Krause replied on March 30th that this was satisfactory to him.
71. Reginald Darwin, 1818—? Eldest child of Sir Francis Sacheveral Darwin, Charles Darwin's half first cousin.
72. Darwin to Reginald Darwin, Down, March 27, 1879; Cambridge University Library, DAR 153. A sentence from this letter is quoted in Darwin, *Life and Letters* (n. 20), 2, p. 395.
73. Darwin to Reginald Darwin, April 8, 1879, Darwin, *Life and Letters* (n. 20), 2, p. 396.
74. Darwin to Reginald Darwin, Down, April 4, 1879; Cambridge University Library, DAR 153. The Commonplace Book is today kept at Down House.
75. Darwin to Krause, Bassett, Southampton, May 9, 1879, Huntington Library. At

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this time Krause had completed the revised version of his essay on Erasmus Darwin, and sent it to William Dallas for translation into English. (W. S. Dallas to Krause, May 7, 1879, Huntington Library).

76. Darwin to Krause, Bassett, Southampton, May 14, 1879, Huntington Library.
77. Krause to Darwin, Berlin N.O., Friedenstrasse, 10. 11, 23 May, 1879; Cambridge University Library, DAR 92, fol. 14.63.
78. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, June 5, 1879, Huntington Library.
79. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, July 7, 1879, Huntington Library. In this letter Darwin told Krause: "At last I send you (Reprinted) the proof sheets of my Preliminary notice. I am disappointed with it, and I fear that you will be greatly disappointed, but I have done my best." In the following comments on, and quotations from, Darwin's "Life of Erasmus Darwin", those parts that were excised are referred to as "Life of Erasmus Darwin", with the number of the galley page; those parts that were retained and published in book form are referred to as Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4).
80. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4).
81. "Life of Erasmus Darwin", p. 48, Cambridge University Library, DAR 213.14.
82. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), pp. 36, 76, 77.
83. Ibid., p. 69.
84. Ibid., p. 29.
85. "Life of Erasmus Darwin," pp. 64–65, Cambridge University Library, DAR 213.14.
86. "Life of Erasmus Darwin," pp. 69–70, Cambridge University Library, DAR 213.14. Also quoted in King-Hele, *Doctor of Revolution* (n. 1), pp. 314–315.
87. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), p. 4. Forty years previously, when Darwin was expecting the birth of his first child, he wrote to his relative William Darwin Fox about his great grandfather Robert Darwin—who he incorrectly identified as "W." Darwin—as follows: "I must tell you that a W. [sic] my great grandfather is described in the Phil Transacts for 1719 as a person of great curiosity who discovered the remains of a giant, evidently an Icthyosaurus, —so that *we* have a right by hereditary descent to be naturalists & especially geologists." Darwin to W. D. Fox, 12 Upper Gower St., October 24th —1839; Christ College Collection of Charles Darwin's letters to William Darwin Fox.
88. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), p. 5.
89. Ibid., p. 80.
90. Ibid., pp. 80–81. When Charles Darwin was a medical student at Edinburgh, age 20, he died from an infection.
91. Ibid., p. 83. It was Dr. Darwin's reaction to the news of Erasmus's suicide which caused the contention between Anna Seward and members of the Darwin family (notes 66, and 67).
92. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), pp. 84–85. Darwin may be suggesting that his father possessed scientific traits, but that these were diverted to the practice of medicine and to discerning human character.
93. Ibid., pp. 86–87. Darwin then enlarged his account of his father and, sometime after 1879, inserted it in the manuscript of his *Autobiography.*
94. "Life of Erasmus Darwin," p. 8, Cambridge University Library, DAR 213.14.
95. Barlow, *Autobiography* (n. 1)., pp. 22–23.

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96. Ibid., p. 27.
97. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, July 12, 1879, Huntington Library.
98. Leonard Darwin to Charles Darwin, Brompton Barrack, 15, 11 [sic] 1879; Cambridge University Library, DAR 92. The letter was wrongly dated November by Leonard Darwin. The correct date is July.
99. Darwin to his son Leonard, July 12, 1879; Cambridge University Library, DAR 153.
100. "I have worked through (& it is hard work) half of the 2nd chapt. on Mind, & your corrections & suggestions are excellent. I have adapted the greater number, & I am sure that they are very great improvements. Some of the transpositions are most just. You have done me good service; but by Jove, how hard you must have worked; & how thoroughly you have mastered my M.S. I am pleased with the Chapt. now that it comes fresh to me." (Darwin to his daughter Henrietta, spring 1870; Cambridge University Library, DAR 153). After the publication of *The Descent* Darwin wrote: "Several reviewers speak of the lucid vigorous style etc. —Now I know how much I owe to you in this respect, which includes arrangement, not to mention still more important aids in the reasoning." (Darwin to his daughter Henrietta, Down, March 20, 1871; Cambridge University Library, DAR 153).
101. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, July 12, 1879, Huntington Library.
102. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, July 28, 2879, Huntington Library.
103. Darwin to Krause, Waterhead Hotel, Coniston, Lancashire, England, August 13, 1879, Huntington Library.
104. Ibid.
105. Charles Darwin, *Erasmus Darwin* (n. 4), pp. 133–134.
106. Darwin, *Life and Letters* (n. 20), 2, p. 396.
107. Karl Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–1930), 4 vols., 2, p. 193.
108. Ibid., p. 194.
109. The controversy between Darwin and Samuel Butler has been described in Barlow, *Autobiography* (n. 1), "The Darwin-Butler Controversy", pp. 167–219.
110. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, April 21, 1880, Huntington Library.
111. "Erasmus Darwin", *The Nation,* April 1, 1880, 30, pp. 253–254.
112. Darwin to Krause, Down, Beckenham, Kent, April 21, 1880, Huntington Library.

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MARGOT PETERS

Bernard Shaw and Stella Pat

Before their relationship burst into flame in 1912, Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell had been known to each other for almost twenty years. As a critic, he had alternately praised and flayed her performances; as a playwright, he had offered her plays (which had not interested her); and, finally, in 1907, he was instrumental in luring her to the Court Theatre to act Hedda Gabler. That year he also met Mrs. Campbell's twenty-one-year-old daughter, who had made her acting debut in March at the Playhouse under the name Stella Patrick Campbell.[1]

Stella Pat had not been destined for the stage. Mrs. Campbell had been determined that both her son and her daughter should take advantage of the unusually brilliant social position she had won as an acclaimed actress. Herself a volatile mixture of temperamental genius and middle-class snobbery, she effectually muffled both temperament and genius in her daughter, bringing her up as a perfect lady, priming her for a good marriage and life in high society. Young Stella initially offered little resistance: "I was so frightened of mother, I would hide under the table when she came home from the theatre," she would admit years later. Mrs. Campbell was accordingly horrified when her daughter announced from a finishing school in Dresden that all she really wanted to do was—act. Mamma returned a flat "no," making it emphatic by bringing her daughter home to a Court presentation and a London season. Yet Stella Pat surprisingly persisted. At length there

[1] Shaw texts 198-(year of publication) The Trustees of the British Museum, The Governors and Guardians of the National Gallery of Ireland and Royal Academy of Dramatic Art.

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were acting lessons, the debut in *Abdullah's Garden,* and finally her mother's capitulation. Trusting her with important parts like Ellean *(The Second Mrs. Tanqueray)* and Clytemnestra *(Electra),* Mrs. Campbell took Stella Pat to America on tour. George Alexander was impressed enough by her notices to call her back in April 1908 to act Helen Thornhill in Pinero's *The Thunderbolt* at the St. James's.[2] If Stella Pat hardly equalled her mother's triumph as Paula Tanqueray at the same theatre fifteen years before, she triumphed in another sense. Her mother's name had unquestionably opened doors, but she had proved herself independently on the stage of London's most prestigious theatre.

Stella Pat had studied with Rosina Filippi who was playing the part of Louka that season in a revival of Shaw's *Arms and the Man:* perhaps it was she who directed Shaw's attention to her former pupil. At any rate, the two were sufficiently acquainted to share a box at a performance of *Arms and the Man,* where Shaw (to his wife's great annoyance) gallantly chose to ignore an ovation and converse with Stella Pat instead.[3] Shaw was a born rebel and thoroughly disillusioned with the parent-child relationship—partly because he himself had not extricated himself from his mother's house until he was nearly forty-two. He was also a compulsive reformer. The subdued, correct Stella Pat—still very much under her mother's thumb—positively invited liberation. Besides, her famous mother had spurned his plays. He would show Mrs. Patrick Campbell: he would not only encourage the daughter to break her chains, but put her in plays her mother had scorned. In June, Shaw proposed that Stella Pat play Ann Whitefield in a summer and autumn tour of *Man and Superman.*

Stella Pat replied that she would be delighted; only her mother might want her for a tour of *The Thunderbolt. If* her mother decided not to tour. . . . Then on 17 June, Shaw saw Frances Dillon perform and "collapsed at the first glance." He impulsively instructed J. E. Vedrenne to secure Dillon at once, dispatched a note to Barker—"Simply heaven-sent for our tour. A superb Ann"[4]—and then proceeded to extricate himself from his promise to Stella Pat with a masterly combination of flattery and evasions:

> If, IF, IF, IF your incalculable Mother doesn't go on tour! Vedrenne says she would go just to ruin him. He got a chance of securing Miss Francis [sic] Dillon today, and dared not let it slip in the face of that fatal IF, as Barker—the difficult Barker—had rashly admitted that he *could* play Tanner to her Ann at a pinch.
>
> So we must wait for another opportunity. Perhaps it is as well as it is.

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If Barker married Miss McCarthy after a few weeks of playing to her Ann at the Court, what would his domestic happiness be worth after playing to yours for a whole tour?

All the same, I consider it was simply your Scriptural duty to leave your mother and to cleave to me. The public doesn't want the whole family in a cast. Besides, professional jealousy will finally upset the filial-maternal relation. I am sure your mother, at your age, would have come like a shot. Sentimental domesticity will be the ruin of this country. And Vedrenne would have been a father to you.

yours disappointed. . . .[5]

Shaw had the right to be ruthless about casting. Yet it was rather hard of him to rebuke Sella Pat for not leaping at the role he had already handed to another actress. (Ironically, when he finally saw Frances Dillon play Ann, Shaw was outraged to find her looking like "a dowdy Brixton widow of forty . . . who does not even pretend to think her part worth a tinker's oath until the love scene in the last act, for which she puts on a new make-up."[6]) Shaw evidently thought it rather hard himself, for he almost immediately offered Stella Pat the part of Raina in another production of *Arms and the Man* at the Haymarket. Again Stella Pat agreed—if she was not needed by Mamma. Telephoning the young woman on 1 July, Shaw discovered that Mrs. Campbell's tour was finally set, the parts cast, the daughter out of his grasp. Well, he told her, she should go upstairs, reread the part, think of all the disagreeable things that had occurred between her and her mother for the last five years, and telephone him if she reconsidered. Then he rang Mrs. Campbell, and found himself attacked in the actress's "most governessy mood" for unaccountably interferring in her private family affairs. Shaw replied "most unchivalrously," and expected that poor Stella Pat would have a bad day in consequence. Still, she might find it easier to escape another time.[7] Still enjoying his seditious role, he sent her from Bayreuth that July a picture postcard of Siegfried Wagner. "This is what comes of being the child of a great genius. Be warned in time. Break loose."

Stella Pat tried, in the following years acting Princess Flavia in *The Prisoner of Zenda,* playing the Hon. Gwendolyn Fairfax in Alexander's very successful revival of *The Importance of Being Earnest* and, with H. B. Irving, acting the title role in 106 performances of *The Princess Clementina.*[8] But her real break took another form. Abruptly abandoning her career, and despite her mother's vehement opposition, Stella married District Commissioner Mervyn Beech in Nairobi in June 1911, to become "the seventieth white woman in South Africa." Next

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year she was back visiting in England, pregnant, and just in time to be entertained by the first of Shaw's love letters to her mother, that romance having been sparked in June when the playwright read Mrs. Campbell *Pygmalion.* Now violently partisan to the mother, Shaw assessed the daughter more temperately: "Stellinetta is rather a wooden little devil, by the way," he wrote Mrs. Campbell; "but perhaps the baby will wake her up—not that I want her to be wakened up; for she is rather exquisite as she is."[9] Stella Pat returned to Nairobi, but soon did wake up to the fact that her marriage—though an escape from Mamma—was, for a woman accustomed to society and the stage, a disaster. In 1914 she returned to England with her infant son, Patrick (who, from his serious expression, Shaw dubbed "The Lord Chancellor"), and looked about to resume her acting career.

She found it difficult. The war had virtually put an end to serious theatre in London and, more immediately, Mrs. Patrick Campbell forbade her daughter to resume the stage name Stella Patrick Campbell. Coming into the middle of a matinee of *The Flag Lieutenant* in December 1914, Shaw was startled at the entrance of "Stella Mervyn Campbell." The unexpected sight of her set him wondering whether she was made "all right" and the others "all wrong"—or vice versa, he wrote Mrs. Campbell, touring with *Pygmalion* in America. Stella Pat's arms started lower down, she had "quite a devil of a lot of neck and sloping shoulders," and instead of jacking herself up with corsets, seemed to wear hers below the waist. Still, said Shaw, she *was* very goodlooking and distinguished. Although like her Ma in some tricks and turns, she had a personality of her own and had "quite lost her old woodenness." She spoke her too-easy part well and was, he guessed, pretty sure of her livelihood and "the judgelike infant's" for some years to come.[10] A year later, however, he told Mrs. Campbell that he had not seen her daughter, who undoubtedly was only interested in him when he had a part for her. "To her I am, apart from dramatic authorship, only an absurd old josser whom her mother made a fool of, the old lady being incorrigible in that direction."[11]

Stella Pat managed engagements, appearing with Gerald du Maurier in 209 performances of *The Ware Case* and in 1916 acting the Godmother in Barrie's *A Kiss for Cinderella.* But du Maurier and Barrie were old admirers of her mother, and she found producers increasingly reluctant to hire the unknown Stella Mervyn Campbell or to pay well when they did. She was forced to take small parts in single matinee Shakespeare pageants; although she was cast as Mrs. Darling, Bar-

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rie's *Peter Pan* was a seasonal entertainment; in thirty-four performances of *The Liars* in 1917 she won only fourth female billing. "Poor thing," exclaimed Cynthia Asquith after visiting Stella Pat at her mother's house in Kensington Square, "it is a terribly hard life! She is trying to live on about four pounds a week, with a child and her husband's bills to cope with. Her stage career seems very hand-to-mouth and her luck very bad, as the plays she is in nearly always come off at once after they have let her into all the expenses of a season ticket, gloves, stockings, etc. For some inexplicable reason, her mother won't allow her to use the name Patrick Campbell. . . . An amazing woman —she threatened her own daughter with legal proceedings."[12]

Hardly inexplicable: six years earlier, Shaw had predicted that professional jealousy would disrupt the filial-maternal relationship. Stella Pat was a lovely, slender woman of twenty-eight with acting ability; Mrs. Campbell at forty-nine clutched at youth, a vanishing waistline, and a name that she alone had made famous. The rivals could not stand close quarters for long; eventually Stella Pat moved into a flat in Hogarth Road with little Patrick and a faithful nanny who stuck by them even though she received no wages. She found war-work in a factory and appeared again as Mrs. Darling in Christmas revivals of *Peter Pan.*[13] Now when she would not have hesitated, Shaw did not telephone with offers: his outspoken anti-war stance had made Shavian drama impossible in London.

Then, finally, in 1919, a good London engagement—playing Roxanne to Robert Loraine's Cyrano de Bergerac in a popular production that began at the Garrick and transferred to Drury Lane and the Duke of York's before ending at the Savoy.[14] Loraine had made notable successes with Shavian drama before the war; Shaw now decided to celebrate the Armistice with a revival of his anti-war comedy, *Arms and the Man.* He had always considered Stella Pat for Raina: nothing more natural now than that the two stars of *Cyrano* should follow that play as Raina and Bluntschli.

"You will have an unfair advantage tonight," Shaw encouraged her before the curtain rose on the opening performance, 11 December, "because if anything goes wrong, *I* shall be blamed. So you may let yourself rip quite recklessly. It has been a great pleasure to me to see you working up the part; and I have no doubt at all that it will add a chanterelle (the top string of the violin) to your three strings of Beauty, Intelligence, and Refinement. Thank you for nothing, you will say. Precisely; but the chanterelle is Comedy; and Raina will give you that,

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and get you, I hope, many many many engagements. So now go in and win; and thank you a thousand times for being such an angel at the rehearsals."

But although she had sought in acting a release for emotions that must be stifled in private, Stella Pat could not let herself "rip recklessly," and critics approved her Raina with some of the restraint that she herself displayed onstage.[15] In spite of his liberal encouragement, Shaw too had some objections to her performance, firing off one of his characteristic notes after watching a matinee two days later. She had missed cues and an entrance; a far greater crime was failing to change pace when Bluntschli and Raina are finally left alone together for the first time since their adventurous encounter six months before. The action should have altered dramatically at that point, something she could have effected quite simply by pausing and then commencing with a new tone and tempo. "Whatever else you do or dont do," Shaw instructed, "take care of this." He was not, however, very confident of a success. The company had begun to play for laughs; the audience was getting triviality and insincerity instead of the earnest tone it longed for. Not her fault, he assured her: she was doing as well as possible under the circumstances.

Not comforted, Stella Pat agonized over Raina in the next days, drawing from Shaw on 18 December a sympathetic letter of advice. The worry, he told her, was good for her—it meant that she was making progress. Her chief problem was that she was first a lady, then an actress; and being a lady involved a long process of self-suppression that was the very negation of acting. "You ought to have begun as an acrobat when you were a child, playing angels and monkeys in pantomimes, dancing, and doing all sorts of stunts to get control of your body. That being out of the question, you must supply the want by making yourself a bit of an athlete in a private way. You shouldn't smoke; and you should fast and pray, and make a practice of going up and downstairs on your hands with your boots in the air. . . ." If Raina bothered her, it was simply because she wasn't in training.

Shaw was sixty-three, but his charm and sympathy still made him irresistible to many women. Evidently Stella Pat had indicated that she too was vulnerable. "Never mind the heart attack," he reassured her: "it is quite common in ladies when they have been thrown into my company for some time; and strange to say, the older I grow the worse it seems to become; but it does not last. Even your mother, who has the constitution of Colleoni's bronze charger in Venice, was affected for a while; but she recovered with the most disconcerting completeness."

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Although still banning her daughter's use of the name Patrick Campbell, that mother had suffered severe reverses in the last years: a fading career, the desertion of her second husband, George Cornwallis-West; worst of all, the death of her beloved son Beo in France. She and Stella Pat remained estranged; yet the mother descended upon the Duke of York's and wrote Shaw expressing her delight with his play: ". . . it went splendidly—heavenly chuckles all around me. . . . You have done wonders with Stella—such a plucky interesting performance and she looked lovely."[16] Shaw agreed, visiting the play again on 16 January 1920 and writing Stella Pat enthusiastically, "You are getting on like a whole terrace on fire. Loraine reproaches me bitterly for having crushed you, and says it is the escape from my tyranny that is affecting your advances in the part; but however that may be, the result is brilliant."

He had no further time to tyrannize Stella Pat, for that January he plunged into a revival of *Pygmalion* that rivaled in tempestuosity the production at His Majesty's back in 1914: Mrs. Campbell was no angel at rehearsals. Shaw and Stella Pat apparently did not communicate again until July 1925, when he replied to her announcement that she would be acting a four-month season at the Municipal Theatre, Northampton, Massachusetts, "By all means have a go at Candida if you can induce any management to let you loose in it. Jennifer in The Doctor's Dilemma would suit you better; so try to get that first if you can. The director, if he were anything but an American, would know that when he wants to perform a play he should apply to the author. An American always asks a policeman."[17] In the same letter, he noted that Stella Pat had won the battle of the names: she signed herself and he addressed her, "Miss Stella Patrick Campbell."

The change of name did not change Stella Pat's fortunes, however. She had become essentially a touring actress, lending her "Beauty, Intelligence, and Refinement" to popular melodramas like *The Knave of Diamonds, The Way of an Eagle,* and *The Afrikander.* Mrs. Campbell once declared that every great actress had to have a bit of the gutter in her. She had kept her own daughter strictly quarantined against the infection of that low but vital influence. Stella Pat's early training was decisive. She remained a perfect lady—offstage and on.

Intermittently, mother and daughter would declare a truce. Ill in 1927, Stella Pat took shelter at her mother's flat in Pont Street; yet when her mother appeared at her bedside, having borrowed $1000 from Shaw to hurry back from America to her daughter's aid,[18] she told her, "You needn't have come." There were occasional meetings

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when Stella Pat taught in the thirties at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art and at Fay Compton's Studio. But there was between them, as Patrick Beech expressed it, a fundamental quarrel. Thus it was that in April 1940, the daughter did not respond to the urgent summons from Pau, France, where Mrs. Campbell lay dying. There was a war on, she wrote to her mother's companion, Agnes Claudius; she could not possibly leave her job in the Censorship Office. Besides, she did not believe her mother seriously ill; one should not cry wolf in the midst of war. In fact, Mrs. Campbell died penniless on 9 April, leaving no money for her burial or debts, or even for Agnes Claudius's ticket back to England; and Stella Pat of course took action.

She wrote to Pau, requesting that Claudius personally bring back the Shaw-Campbell letters that her mother had carried with her for years in a large black hat box: they were valuable and potentially publishable.[19] She had no money to send herself, but she approached family and friends. One of these was Shaw, who promptly lent £100. Eventually Agnes Claudius arrived in London with the letters and took them to the daughter who now called herself Mrs. S. Mervyn Beech. Claudius found Stella Beech at fifty-three a tall, handsome woman—kind, patient, distinguished—but lacking her mother's enormous vitality and presence.[20] The years had intensified her reserve; she had been unable to take Shaw's advice to limber up by descending the stairs daily with her boots in the air. And certainly in their last encounters, initiated by her mother's death, Shaw found her as determinedly correct as ever.

On 27 April 1940, he was perhaps both startled and touched to receive from her £20 toward repayment of the loan. The generous and wealthy Shaw had loaned thousands with no expectation of return; now, however, he gravely reciprocated her formality: "Received from Mrs. Stella Beech the sum of Twenty Pounds in repayment of a sum advanced by me in connexion with the interment of the late Mrs. Patrick Campbell at Pau." On his eighty-fourth birthday that 26 July, he accepted a second twenty pounds, on one condition. After the sale of Mrs. Campbell's furniture, jewelry, and books, her solicitors had refunded £28.15.6 of the £100. On the understanding that Stella Pat draw on that sum should she need any more money in connection with her mother's death, he now would cancel another twenty.[21] Stella Beech agreed, but had no intention of touching the money. She carefully recorded the sums of £68.5.3 repaid, £31.4.9 owing.

That debt still stood when, on 19 October 1942, Shaw wrote requesting a word with her some afternoon. "You know I am a wid-

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ower now," he added. Stella Beech, of course, recognized the significance of the words. Charlotte Shaw (dead the previous month) had so resented her husband's involvement with the fascinating actress that Shaw had scrupulously avoided ever mentioning either Mrs. Campbell or the disposition of their letters. Mrs. Campbell's own will stipulated that their correspondence should eventually be published as *The Love Letters of Bernard Shaw to Mrs. Patrick Campbell.* Shaw himself had no objection to publication after his death; and now that Charlotte was dead, he could alter his will as he had long intended, bequeathing the entire proceeds from publication to Patrick Beech's two daughters. He now put the entire matter before Stella Beech who acquiesced even though she personally found the correspondence distasteful. The letters needed editing, Shaw observed; he might do it himself ("That would be the ideal thing," agreed Stella Beech[22]), but was at the moment too busy. And, even though the paper his letters were written on was an outright gift to the Beeches, both his and Mrs. Campbell's letters eventually *should* be given to the British Museum.

There was more conversation. He spoke for an hour about *Pygmalion,* recalling the hilarious contretemps of the first production with relish. He frankly admitted that he had kept all newspaper references to Mrs. Campbell's *My Life and Some Letters,* as well as the book itself, from his wife. The meeting was long and cordial; and Shaw felt quite safe addressing her as "My dear Stella II" in a letter of 8 November, although he added, "I am shy of presuming on my friendships with other people's mothers, as they do not always approve of the relation. But of course I never thought of you as Missis Beech and I dont believe you ever think of me as Mister Shaw, at arms' length." He enclosed another letter from Mrs. Campbell that he had recently discovered, as well as copies of the photographs he had taken in 1912 of her ill in bed—"the real beginning of the friendship." He also advised Stella Beech to keep at least two sets of photostats of the correspondence as fire insurance, and to hang on to every scrap of his writing that she owned. "As to what should be included when the letters are published that must be settled when the time comes. No use bothering about it at present."

But all Shaw's geniality could not thaw Stella Beech, who had no desire to succeed her mother as "Stella II." Reminded by her visit of the debt, she now sent the balance. Again Shaw matched her tone, writing out a receipt for "final and full repayment," then adding, "Now your too tender conscience is clear at last." Then he tore up her check, as he had the two others. This time, however, Stella Beech

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somehow discovered the kind deception, and wrote in protest. "Dear Mrs. S. Mervyn Beech (as you prefer we should begin)," Shaw answered in March 1944. ". . . You must not feel distressed about what you call your debt: you have paid it honorably to the uttermost farthing. But I had my rights and duties in the matter too. I was her best friend: you were only her daughter, a whole generation removed. It was for me, not for you, to render first aid. So everything is just as it should be." His signature was a gentle rebuke: "Your obedient servant Mister G. Bernard Shaw (G.B.S. is shorter)."

The letter evidently concluded their conversation; Shaw died six years later. The Shaw-Campbell correspondence could now be published. Alan Dent was chosen as titular editor; actually Stella Beech edited the letters and provided the headnotes. Not surprisingly, she wished to destroy many letters, cut many more. Her son eventually persuaded her to suppress relatively little, chiefly those letters and passages dealing with her mother's unfortunate second marriage. Was it genuine modesty that inspired her to cut her mother's approval of her Raina—"You have done wonders with Stella—such a plucky interesting performance and she looked lovely"?—or refusal to tolerate a kind word from her arch rival. Shaw had encouraged her to break loose. She had tried, but the long battle with her mother had stiffened rather than relaxed her nature: she could not unlearn "the ingrained habit of concealing nine tenths of her feelings" and expressing the rest in "a very delicate way." Even with her would-be liberator, she remained irreproachably proper to the end: Mrs. S. Mervyn Beech, unmoved by the frank comradeship of Mr. G. Bernard Shaw.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN—WHITEWATER

NOTES

1. As Lala in a single matinee performance on 25 March of *Abdullah's Garden,* written by Rosina Filippi, a friend and colleague of Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Stella Patrick Campbell became known as "Stella Pat" to distinguish her from her mother, Beatrice Stella Campbell, who usually called herself offstage Stella Campbell.
2. *The Thunderbolt,* running only 58 performances from 9 May to 3 July 1908, was not a success, despite the prestige of its author, Arthur Wing Pinero, and such solid actors as George Alexander and Louis Calvert.
3. An event described by Shaw to Mrs. Campbell in a letter of 9 August 1912: "I once puzzled her frightfully by a piece of Irish folly. We were sitting in the front of a box at the Savoy at some idiotic performance of Arms and the Man; and the audience gave me a sort of ovation at the end. My impulse was to rise and bless

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them (I often feel like a Pope—should have been one), but Stellinetta was talking to me; and to appear conscious of anything but her would have been a breach of gallantry. So I betrayed not the faintest consciousness of the applauding house, and hung on Stellinetta's words. She didnt see it a bit, and thought I was cracked, poor infant! And Charlotte was furious, and said I had been guilty of a gross breach of public manners. But it was pleasanter to be gallant to Stellinetta than to smile at a mob of gushing Shavians": *Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: Their Correspondence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952): 30. When Stella Pat edited these letters, she made the following (unpublished) note: " 'thought I was cracked, poor infant.' This is inaccurate!! I knew quite well that he was merely *pretending* to be interested for effect! He said 'Go on talking—take no notice of them.' I *was* dreadfully embarrassed."

4. Shaw to Barker (17 June 1908) in *Bernard Shaw's Letters to Granville Barker,* edited C. B. Purdom (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1957): 123–24.
5. 17 June 1908. I am very much indebted to Patrick Beech, Mrs. Campbell's grandson, who lent me Shaw's letters to his mother, Stella Beech (1886–1975), for my biography *Mrs. Pat: The Life of Mrs. Patrick Campbell* and for this article, and who has also provided me with biographical information about his mother, as well as to the Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate for permission to quote from Shaw's letters.
6. Letter to J. E. Vedrenne (15 October 1908), quoted in *Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters,* edited Dan H. Laurence, vol. 2 (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1972): 816–17.
7. Shaw to Granville Barker (1 and 4 July 1908): Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
8. *The Prisoner of Zenda* played at the St. James's from 18 February to 17 April 1909, *The Importance of Being Earnest* from 30 November 1909 to 23 September 1910 at that theatre, *The Princess Clementina* from 14 December 1910 to 17 March 1911 at the Queen's.
9. 9 August 1912 in *Their Correspondence:* 30.
10. 20 December 1914 in *Their Correspondence:* 190–1. This revival of *The Flag Lieutenant* achieved 179 performances (28 November 1914 to 17 April 1915), starring Godfrey Tearle, Alan Aynsworth, and Stella Pat as Lady Hermione Wynn.
11. 19 December 1915 in *Their Correspondence:* 206.
12. 9 November 1917 in Lady Cynthia Asquith's *Diaries: 1915–1918* (London: Hutchinson, 1968): 383. Stella Pat was a childhood friend of Cynthia Charteris Asquith, daughter of one of Mrs. Patrick Campbell's closest friends, Lady Elcho (later the Countess of Wemyss).
13. Stella Pat played Mrs. Darling in three successive holiday productions of *Peter Pan* at the New Theatre: 23 December 1916–23 March 1917, 24 December 1917–2 February 1918, and 19 December 1918–25 January 1919—and again in 1930.
14. *Cyrano de Bergerac* ran for 226 performances, the *Morning Post* exclaiming that there was "Nothing to compare with Robert Loraine as Cyrano since Irving made his farewell nearly 15 years ago." Patrick Beech told me that his mother was very much in love with the handsome Loraine.
15. The *Sunday Times* said, for example, that she "drawled and droned the heroics of Raina, but was pleasantly natural in the unaffected parts," while the *Observer*

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decided that "the idealist and the opportunist seem to be about equally represented . . . [she]manages to convey both characteristics without making the thing look ridiculous." *Arms and the Man* ran for 72 performances, from 11 December 1919–7 February 1920.

16. 5 January 1920, printed in *Their Correspondence* (228–9) without the comment about Stella Pat.
17. Unpublished holograph letter of 29 July 1925, written on Station Hotel, Dornoch stationery to which Shaw has added *"Sutherland"* (until the 7th Aug.)" The letter concludes, "How is the Lord Chancellor? He must be quite a size by this time." Like the rest of the letters quoted above, this one is in the possession of Patrick Beech.
18. An episode described in more detail in my *Mrs. Pat: The Life of Mrs. Patrick Campbell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984): 391, 506.
19. Patrick Beech has said that Agnes Claudius later made it appear that she alone was responsible for having rescued the Shaw-Campbell letters, whereas Stella Beech had not only instructed her to bring them back to England but sent her airfare as well. Agnes Claudius, however, felt hurt at the lack of recognition when the letters were published in 1952 and when Jerome Kilty later turned the letters into his successful play, *Dear Liar:* letters from Claudius to the actress Nancy Price (Enthoven Collection, Museum of London) refer to Kilty's having taken her name out of his play "in obedience to the Beech family." Claudius was convinced that the Beech family disliked her, when they only objected to her taking all the credit for saving the correspondence.
20. Agnes Claudius's unfinished, unpublished account, written under the pseudonym "Claude Vincent," of Mrs. Campbell's last years, death, and the aftermath, titled *The Death of 'The dearest Liar'* (Burgunder Shaw Collection, Cornell University Library).
21. This time, Mrs. Patrick Campbell's close friend, Dame Edith ("D.D.") Lyttelton, conveyed the 20 pounds to Shaw, writing to Stella Beech on 27 July 1940: "G.B.S. has now accepted the second £20 and sent a receipt which I think perhaps I had better hand to you. I think if you should want any further money connected with your mother's death, he will look upon the £28.15.3d. which was the balance left in my hands—now returned to him—as available for you, for he says: "This I must accept on the understanding that there is nothing else to be done with it."
22. "Notes made by me as soon as I got home from my interview with G.B.S. November 1943. S.M.B.": four pages of notes, kindly lent me by Patrick Beech, who also saw Shaw by invitation on 1 November 1943 in connection with the letters. Mrs. Patrick Campbell would emphatically not have considered Shaw's editing the letters "the ideal thing." In a New York interview in October 1931, she declared, "I shall write my *own* preface to the edition, not Mr. Shaw, as he did in the Ellen Terry letters. I do not intend to give him the opportunity to say the last word. I don't trust him enough."

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Jack Kolb

Morte d'Arthur: The Death of Arthur Henry Hallam

"It has pleased God, that in his death as well as in his life & nature, he should be marked beyond ordinary men."[1] Writing one month after Arthur Henry Hallam's sudden death in Vienna at age 22, William Ewart Gladstone could not have foreseen the full implications of his remark. Ironically, Hallam's death proved the crowning achievement of his life, and possibly his chief claim to posterity. Hallam is known primarily by the initials—"A.H.H."—which follow the title of Tennyson's *In Memoriam,* and as the character which emerges in the most substantial, and personal, of English elegies. Moreover, Tennyson's tribute—published 17 years after the fatal event of 1833—was not its first, nor last, commemoration. Gladstone, for example, alluded to it in his diaries for a number of years, and the Victorian memoirs of Hallam's friends at Eton and Cambridge contain descriptions of their response to the event. Both contemporary and modern accounts deal with the impact of Hallam's death upon both his own, and the Tennyson, families.[2] Yet as Gladstone's remark suggests, not merely its effects, but the death itself, seemed remarkable.

Arthur's last voyage, like many of his undertakings, was instigated by his father, an eager and inveterate traveller. Having recovered from the ague which afflicted him and his son in the spring of 1833, Henry Hallam was eager to leave London by the end of July. Perhaps he hoped the trip would permit a father-and-son discussion of Arthur's seemingly impetuous engagement to Alfred Tennyson's sister, Emily, and the financial impasse which frustrated their marriage. Depressed to the point of depair by this delay, yet still hopeful of gaining his father's support, Arthur could hardly refuse the opportunity.

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Four days after leaving England,[3] Arthur wrote to Emily from southern France, where he and her brother had met with Spanish revolutionaries in 1830: "Ask Alfred whether he recollects a postillion who drove us from Ath. . . . I was driven by him again, & he recognised me, & complimented me on my better looks."[4] Two weeks later, his spirits momentarily uplifted as he approached Salzburg, he faced the future with optimism: "I have sworn in my secret soul that I will come here again some day, God willing, & not alone, Nem; nor am I quite clear that ten years hence we may not have made a home of Salzburg." Yet a local wedding served as a painful reminder of the unresolved difficulties standing in the way of his own marriage.

After a few days in Vienna, Arthur and his father continued into Hungary. Toasting Mary Tennyson's birthday (11 September) in Budapest, Arthur wrote thence to her sister of his remaining itinerary —north to Prague, and then, turning westward, home to England. First, however, they would stop again at Vienna, once more to savor the splendid art, including Canova's monument to the Archduchess Christina in the Augustine Chapel—a pyramid, with mourners entering the portals of death, guarded by a sleeping lion and grieving angel.[5]

It was perhaps on the same evening that Mary and Matilda Tennyson were walking down the lane by the Somersby Rectory. Suddenly they both noticed a tall figure, clothed completely in white, walking ahead of them. They followed it until it disappeared through the hedge, at a point where there was no gap. Matilda was so unnerved by the apparition that she burst into tears.[6]

Mail arrived at the Spilsby postoffice only three times a week, and Arthur's Budapest letter had not even reached England by 25 September. Thus when Matilda went to check the delivery early in October, some three weeks after her strange encounter, she could hardly have expected to see Arthur's neat address on the thin paper of an overseas letter. She did find a note from Bristol, addressed in a strange hand to Alfred, with the unusual request that if he should be absent, Mrs. Tennyson should open it. Matilda gave it to her brother at the dinner table and went to take off her bonnet. Returning, she found Alfred and Emily absent. Only later did she learn the letter's contents:

> At the desire of a most afflicted family, I write to you, because they are unequal, from the Abyss of grief into which they have fallen, to do it themselves.
>
> Your friend Sir, and my much loved Nephew, Arthur Hallam is no

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more—it has pleased God, to remove him from this his first scene of Existence, to that better World, for which he was Created.

He died at Vienna on his return from Buda, by Apoplexy, and I believe his Remains come by Sea from Trieste.

Mr. Hallam arrived this Morning. . . . I have just seen [him], who begs I will tell you, that he will write himself as soon as his Heart will let him. Poor Arthur had a slight attack of Ague—which he had often had—order'd his fire to be lighted—and talked with as much cheerfulness as usual—He suddenly became insensible and his Spirit departed without Pain—The Physician endeavour'd to get any Blood from him—and on Examination it was the General Opinion, that he could not have lived long—This was also Dr. Holland's opinion—The account I have endeavour'd to give you, is merely what I have been able to gather, but the family of course are in too great distress, to enter into details.[7]

The hastily written, somewhat garbled letter of his uncle, Henry Elton, was a fitting announcement of Arthur Henry Hallam's death. For the awful finality of the event itself stands in sharp contrast to the various troubles, uncertainties, and unresolved questions then and now surrounding it.

For some time, even the circumstances remained in doubt. On 3 October 1833, probably the day Elton's letter reached Somersby, Francis Hastings Doyle learned of his friend's death from the Hallams' maid in London. Doyle dashed off letters bearing the news to Arthur's closest Etonian comrades, Gladstone and James Milnes Gaskell, though, as he wrote to the former, his fragmentary information hardly seemed consistent with probability:

Mr. Hallam and Arthur arrived at Vienna in the afternoon where Arthur was seized with a return of the Ague which he suffered from in the spring. No alarm was however aroused till the next day, during which he became rapidly worse and expired. This rapid fatality looks more like cholera than an ague, but it is impossible to decide until we are in possession of further particulars.

A similar lack of information led a friend of Henry Hallam's, who knew the reason for Arthur's 1830 expedition to southern France, to suspect foul play:

Accident would have been mentioned—might this be the consequence of some hostile meeting? Warm romantic feeling (of which I recollect a remarkable existence in a political enterprize) might possibly meet some excitement to rouse national jealousy & call forth a sense of national honor in a country where young and fiery spirits indulge so freely in political discussion.

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But Elton's letter to Tennyson, confused as it was, proved far closer to the truth than these early speculations. On 11 October 1833, having consulted more thoroughly with the Hallam household, Doyle again wrote to Gladstone:

> As I told you, Hallam was taken ill on arriving at Vienna as he believed with a return of his ague. He felt uncomfortable and chilly the whole of the next day and in consequence asked a fire to be lighted. In this condition he remained until the Evening; then he said that he felt himself rather better, that he felt the ague fit was passing off, and that he should send the Courier out to get some sack in order to prevent a return of the Complaint. Mr. Hallam then said that as Arthur felt himself less unwell he should go out and take a walk, which he did, leaving him upon the Sofa. On his return Arthur was still lying down but his head was in a different position. Mr. Hallam, struck with this, spoke to him and received no answer—a Surgeon was immediately sent [for] who opened a vein in his arm and another in his hand, but no blood followed and he expired almost immediately.[8]

Harriet Martineau's later description, doubtless obtained directly from Henry Hallam, suggests that the discovery was even more painful: "Finding [Arthur] sleeping on his return, [his father] took a book and read for an hour; and then he became impressed with the extreme stillness of the sleeper. The sleeper was cold, and must have been dead from almost the moment when he had last spoken."[9]

Though Henry Hallam's sense of duty did not fail him, the "sad mechanic exercise" of arranging the disposition of his son's body was hampered by the Austrian bureaucracy. Under various pretences, including attempts to extort money from the bereaved father, the corpse was moved about the city, even taken to various burial spots (including a Catholic cemetery, where it was rejected on grounds of heresy). When the English ambassador intervened, the Viennese authorities denied involvement in, or knowledge of, the machinations.[10]

Even the final westward journey of Arthur's coffined remains proved perilous. On 6 November 1833, Henry Hallam wrote to Richard Monckton Milnes from Clifton about Arthur's place of internment: "It will not be in London, but among his maternal family some miles from here. I have as yet no tidings that his remains have been put on board a ship at Trieste, & I do not expect to see the last rites performed till some time next month." Henry returned to London at the end of November, whence he wrote to Tennyson, offering him a place in the funeral carriage. Even then Henry had no word

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from Italy that the ship had sailed. Indeed, there was "little reason to suppose that she can arrive before the 2d. week in January." By this time, the delay had become a matter of concern. The last three months of 1833 saw a series of storms, of uncharacteristic vehemence, sweep across England and the Continent. Shipping records recounted vessels lost at sea or wrecked upon various coasts. Well might Tennyson pray that the "sacred bark" be spared the tempest that "mars/Mid-ocean"; well might he fear that "hands so often clasped in mine" would "toss with tangle and with shells."[11]

Henry Hallam's 30 December 1833 letter to Tennyson from London almost suggests that he knew of this section of *In Memoriam:*

> It may remove some anxiety from the minds of yours & others to know that the mortal part of our dearest Arthur will be interred at Clevedon on Friday—I leave down to-morrow—My first thought was not to write to you till all was over. But you have been apprehensive for the safety of the vessel. I did not expect her arrival so soon.[12]

This letter shows that Tennyson had already decided *not* to attend his friend's funeral. Indeed, as Ralph Rader has noted, on the day Henry Hallam departed for Clevedon, Alfred and another friend, Rawnsley, stopped by their neighbor's, John Rashdall, to smoke and engage in "pleasant converse." Rashdall's diary also reports that Robert Tennant, a close friend of Hallam's, came to visit the Tennysons on 2 January 1834; the next day, as Arthur's body was laid "in English earth," Rashdall, Tennant, and the Tennysons sat up until three in the morning at Somersby, talking and smoking.[13] Less than two months later, Tennyson wrote to Henry Hallam that he was unable to compose a preface to Arthur's *Remains in Prose and Verse* (1834), finding that "the object yet is too near me." Perhaps a similar inability to distance himself from Arthur's death, except through the medium of verse, kept him from Clevedon.[14]

For whatever reason, Tennyson's absence led to two misinterpretations about the funeral that must have been annoying to a poet so obsessed with factual accuracy. In his preface to the collection of his son's writings, Henry Hallam stated that Arthur's earthly remains were "interred . . . in the Chancel of Clevedon Church"; this statement was repeated in the 1852 revision of Arthur's *Remains.* According to Tennyson, early versions of *In Memoriam,* LXVII—"And in the chancel like a ghost/Thy tablet glimmers to the dawn"—were based upon this presumably authoritative information.

But Arthur was interred, not in the chancel, but in the south tran-

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sept of St. Andrew's, in the Hallam and Elton family vault. In 1855, Tennyson altered "chancel" to "dark church," asserting that he had not visited Clevedon until "years after the burial." The poet apparently had difficulty accepting this change; as late as 1870, Tennyson seems to have told James Knowles that Arthur was buried in the chancel.[15]

The other misunderstanding did not necessitate an alteration in *In Memoriam,* though Tennyson probably regretted that he did not know the true circumstances when he was composing it. In 1883, Edward Malan stated (in *Notes and Queries*) that the ship bearing Arthur's body had disembarked not at Bristol—the closest major seaport to Clevedon, and one of the three major seaports in England at that time—but at Dover. According to Malan, the coffin had been brought across country to Clevedon in a funeral procession of sixteen black horses. Soon after the note appeared, Malan wrote to Tennyson, presumably seeking corroboration of his account. Again Tennyson was forced to plea a lack of direct knowledge: "It is news to me that the remains of A.H.H. were landed at Dover. I had always believed that the ship which brought them put in at Bristol." Even a confession of ignorance from the Laureate must have been intimidating. In January 1885, Malan hastened to reveal the source of his information—Augustus James, the sexton at Clevedon, "who was present as a boy at Hallam's funeral, and whose father dug the grave." Malan nevertheless admitted that he would "be much obliged" if the ship could be identified and the point of disembarkation thus confirmed.[16]

In the preface to his revised edition of *A Key to Tennyson's In Memoriam* (1885), Alfred Gatty provided the fullest description of the funeral, also derived from Augustus James. The sexton, Gatty noted, perfectly remembered the internment of Arthur Hallam; his father, who preceded his son in the office, had made the vault, and officiated at the burial.

> Being astonished by the account of a hearse and mourning coaches traversing the whole distance from Dover to Clevedon, and employing sixteen horses for the journey, I ventured to ask the late Sir A. H. Elton [Arthur Hallam's cousin], if he could corroborate the report, and he replied: "I think there may have been some truth in the statement of the old sexton. I believe that on the Continent very great precautions are required by the authorities, before the remains of a deceased person are permitted to be removed from the place in which the death occurred. I can easily believe that the heavy amount of lead, and other precautions,

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rendered it necessary to use a large force of horses." A. James says, that "the coffin was carried in every night where they stopped." [from fear of robbery?]

According to Gatty, the coffin was carried to its place of internment by tenant farmers on the Clevedon estate.

The Clevedon Burial Book confirms Gatty on one point—William Newland Pedder, vicar of Clevedon from 1830 until his death in 1871, performed the burial service. But no independent evidence corroborates Augustus James' testimony. Research has failed to identify the "fair ship": a number of vessels from Trieste landed at Bristol, an equal number at Dover, during the last two months of 1833. Nor does there seem to be any account, in either official or contemporary family records, of the disposition of the coffin from the time it reached England until its internment at Clevedon.

Bristol, by at least 150 miles the closest major English seaport to Trieste, would seem to have been the logical landing place. Newspaper accounts record a hurricane at Dover, disrupting all shipping, during the second and third weeks of December 1833. None of Henry Hallam's letters mention Dover. His 25 October 1833 letter to Gladstone, from Clifton, suggests that he expected the ship to arrive on the west coast, and his 19 December 1833 letter directs Tennyson to Clevedon for a place in the funeral coach. Even if Henry left London on 31 December 1833 (see letter to Tennyson quoted above), would he have had time to travel to Dover to supervise the arrangements (especially since, as he acknowledged, the coffin had arrived sooner than he had expected), accompany the remains across England in what clearly was a slow journey, and arrive at Clevedon in time for the 3 January 1834 burial?

On the other hand, Bristol and the entire *west* coast of Britain was also plagued by severe storms late in December 1833, diverting much shipping to other ports. Moreover, Henry Hallam might not have felt obligated to escort his son's coffin on a cross-country journey. And the details of Augustus James' account (as reported by Gatty) suggest a sincere attempt to recall the true circumstances of the funeral, rather than a hope to embellish upon what by that time already bordered on myth. One specific feature, mentioned by James, is persuasive. He reported that a square iron box was deposited in the vault together with Arthur's coffin. Gatty conjectured that the box might have contained "The darken'd heart that beat no more."[17] More likely, it contained all of the viscera, since—unknown to Gatty, and (presumably) to

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James—an autopsy had been performed on Arthur Henry Hallam in Vienna.

What was the significance of this unusual procedure? Again, there can be no definitive answer. Ten years later, at what had become the center of European medical study, autopsies were regularly performed for scientific research. Perhaps the fact that Arthur was a foreigner, and that he died young and suddenly (cholera was then a major menace in Europe), made the Viennese autopsy mandatory. Perhaps Henry Hallam, whose Whig interpretation of history stressed factual detail, demanded a post-mortem examination to explain, as far as possible, his son's premature death (apparently Henry wrote to his family's physician, Sir Henry Holland, a few hours after discovering his Arthur's body). Perhaps during the confusion regarding the corpse's disposition, it fell prey to eager medical examiners. In any case, whether by fortuitous chance or historical coincidence, or because of Henry Hallam's eminence, the autopsy was supervised by the most eminent pathologist in Europe at that time, "a man whose personal experience with the performance of autopsies has probably never [even in the 20th century] been equalled in terms of numbers," Karl von Rokitansky. Hence, not merely the autopsy report itself, but the qualifications of the pathologist, make it a crucial piece of evidence in the chief question surrounding Arthur Hallam's death—its cause.[18] The report must be considered, however, in the context of Arthur's overall medical history. And this history, too, is subject to various interpretations.

A brief summary of the records of the illnesses Hallam suffered during the last seven years of his life, for example, seems to suggest a pattern. After a series of childhood ailments—including attacks of "remitting fever" at 5–6 years, whooping cough at 9, and a mild case of chicken pox at 11—a "severe earache" in March, 1827 was serious enough to keep him from classes at Eton for nearly two weeks. As he wrote to Gladstone, his departure for Europe later that year was delayed by a more serious affliction: "I have been suffering much from headaches; & sometimes when in low spirits, anticipate being laid up at some infernal posthouse, among strange faces, and stupid doctors." These "headaches" apparently recurred that winter: writing from Florence and then from Rome, Hallam described himself as having been ill for two months.[19]

Though influenza was common among the fens and marshes of Cambridge, Hallam's affliction in the spring of 1829 forced him to miss a significant part of that term and return to London; he was described as seriously ill "on account of blood in the head."[20] He may

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have been alluding to similar effects (although he undoubtedly experienced a spiritual and emotional crisis that summer) in letters to Robert Robertson and John Frere, in which he wrote of severe mental depression: "I am for the present *quite well,* but cannot flatter myself that the natural liability to disorders in the head, which are half the effect, & half the cause of a morbid disposition of mind, should be removed so quickly." Hallam was sick enough to miss additional classes late in 1830, and, during his vacation at Hastings in July 1831, suffered from a "glandular disorder." Upon leaving Somersby in both April 1832 and January 1833 he experienced the same feverish excitement accompanied by the same physiological symptoms: "I was quite faint, and the blood burned in my temples."[21] Indeed, Hallam's illnesses during these years seem to have followed a pattern of excessive depression, inertia, or lassitude, always accompanied by severe headaches. These preceded—and sometimes were preceded by—periods of high spirits, activity, and productivity. From March to May 1833, as already stated, Hallam was seriously ill with "ague"; at times he was delirious with a high fever and treated with quinine.

Without extensive comparable information about his contemporaries, it is difficult to judge whether Hallam might have been considered a significantly less-than-healthy man of his class and station of life in early 19th-century England. But to some of his friends, his early death seemed less than surprising, given his sequence of illnesses apparently centered in his head or circulatory system. Announcing the death to his sister, John Mitchell Kemble noted that the "attack of apoplexy . . . was always feared by us as likely to occur." Richard Chenevix Trench, one of Hallam's close friends during the last years of his life, wrote to William Bodham Donne that "the immediate cause, as you may have anticipated [was] pressure of blood upon the brain." Donne, who knew Hallam only slightly, put the question most succinctly: "You suppose me to have guessed at the cause of his death; was he then liable to a determination of blood to the brain?"[22]

The answer, for at least two of his closest friends, was "yes." In his 11 October 1833 letter to Gladstone, Doyle found the cause of Arthur's death all too clear: "It seems to have been a sort of apoplectic seizure, I presume in some respects similar to those rushes of blood under which he laboured at Cambridge." Of course Doyle had not been with Arthur at Cambridge. Fifty years later, in his *Reminiscences,* Doyle again stressed the early signs of his Etonian friend's fatality: "As a boy, he had suffered much at intervals from serious head-aches. His Eton and Cambridge friends, naturally enough, thought them

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head-aches and nothing more, but when the end came it was made clear that his life had been a long struggle against incurable organic disease." Gladstone, too, recalled one distinct sign of "the mournful future": "I remember well . . . that if ever I entered Arthur Hallam's room after he had been closely engaged in work, I used to find him flushed up to the very eyes, in a way quite beyond his usual colour, which was always high."[23]

The fullest discussion of Arthur's early health appears in Henry Hallam's preface to his son's *Remains.* To the bereaved father, the apparent cause of his son's death helped to explain (and, one might suggest—without questioning Henry's love for his son—to justify) much that troubled Henry about Arthur's life. Arthur's less than outstanding academic attainments (though he won essay and declamation prizes, he never gained a scholarship, received his B.A. without honors, and, by his own accounts, barely passed the mathematical exam), his occasionally melancholy disposition, even his romantic nostalgia, were readily explained by the early "symptoms" of his fatality:

> A too rapid determination of the blood towards the brain, with its concomitant uneasy sensations, rendered him frequently incapable of mental fatigue. . . . His intensity of reflection and feeling also brought on occasionally a considerable depression of spirits, which had been painfully observed at times by those who watched him most, from the time of his leaving Eton, and even before.

Even during Arthur's final year at Cambridge, according to Henry, his family noticed that "his power of enduring fatigue was not quite so great as from his frame of body and apparent robustness might have been anticipated."[24]

Yet with the exception of Doyle's letter, all of these reflections follow—by months, even years—the event itself, and their hindsight stands in sharp contrast to many of the initial responses to Hallam's death. Letters in the fall of 1833, not only from Doyle and Gladstone, but also from Gaskell and Milnes, speak of the "severe and painful shock," the "awfully sudden removal," the prospects of renewed contact and future intimacy dashed and destroyed. A letter from John Frere to Charles Merivale, both close friends of Hallam, told of his death "in so dubious and strange a way that we flattered ourselves there might still be a mistake." Writing in late November 1833, Francis Garden noted "how little did we think that it was not here that he was to ripen and bear the abundant fruit, of which his uncommon powers gave promise! . . . the thought constantly surprises me that all

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this is over, and I feel as if it were incredible, instead of what we might well have calculated on." Likewise, Ellen Hallam's private journals, convering the year and a half after her brother's death, constantly refer to her bereaved state as a dream:

> It came upon me today as if by surprize—it sometimes appears impossible to me that one whom I embraced *five months* ago, seemingly full of life & vigour, should have ceased more than half that time to be an inhabitant of this world. I say to myself—surely it cannot be—it is a delusion. . . . How little did I dream of this coming storm—this awful change—this utter annihilation of everything akin to happiness . . . I never once *thought* that I could be deprived of him whose happiness was the first object of my heart. . . . All seems like a *dream*—surely years have elapsed since we conversed together so sweetly. . . . Oh! my Arthur —how little did I think that that last parting would be our *very* last in this world!

Only James Spedding, whose brother's death a year earlier had occasioned Tennyson's first elegy, "To J.S.", reminds us—despite what Tennyson had argued in that poem (and later in *In Memoriam,* VI)—that common chance can easily take away even the noble mind: "If I can dwell calmly upon the remembrance of [Arthur] it is only because I have been accustomed for many years to see those whose friendship made me proud & should have made me better, drop away in what seemed the fulness of their promise. This is not my first lesson, nor second, nor third."[25]

It was Henry Hallam, both in his preface, and in his letters to Arthur's friends and acquaintances, who set the pattern of consolation. To both Gladstone and Gaskell, he urged a humble resignation to the will of Providence, to the "dispensation of a Superior Power." But his first letter to Alfred Tennyson (10 October 1833) sought to ease their mutual sorrow with the temporal consideration that "your poor friend was not lost by any imprudence or neglect . . . he must, in all probability, have been snatched away at no distant period, possibly when the bereavement might have been further aggravated, if indeed that could be."[26] Two weeks later, in a letter to a family friend, Henry again alluded to the partial comfort in the circumstances of his son's death: "I have often reflected with thankfulness that I was spared the more probable misery of watching for months in a foreign land the slow decay of palsied limbs and clouded intellect." In this last prognosis, Henry drew upon the most eminent, if not the most authoritative, medical testimony in England at that time. Sir Henry Holland, later physician extraordinary to Queen Victoria, and doctor to many emi-

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nent Victorians, had attended to Arthur from his childhood. As Henry Elton's letter to Tennyson suggested, Holland offered to Henry Hallam the "poor consolation" that his son could not have lived longer: "If Dr. Holland is right, an organic disorder of the brain had commenced, which, while it accounts for the suddenness of the fatal event from so trifling an immediate cause as an intermittent fever of the slightest kind (in all usual symptoms), may lead us to believe that his life could not have been long protracted." Holland's opinion is echoed in Henry Hallam's preface: "a weakness of the cerebral vessels, and a want of sufficient energy in the heart" would, within a few years, have severed "the frail union of [Arthur's] graceful and manly form with the pure spirit that it inshrined" even had he survived the trip to Vienna.[27]

The family history of the Hallams might seem to suggest a larger fatal pattern. Ellen Hallam survived her elder brother by only four years, dying in 1837, aged 21, of "complications from measles." Henry Fitzmaurice ("Harry") Hallam, whose career paralleled that of his brother in a number of other ways, succumbed at age 26 in 1850 (shortly after receiving his copy of *In Memoriam*) to an "intermittent fever" in Siena, on another European trip arranged by his father. Indeed the *DNB* states that only four of eleven Hallam children grew up, a dismaying percentage even in an age still plagued by infant mortality. But an autobiographical sketch by Arthur's mother, Julia Elton Hallam, shows that most of these "children" were premature miscarriages or stillbirths, and the only other child to survive his first few days succumbed at 6 years to the whooping cough which afflicted the entire family in 1820. Moreover, Julia Maria Hallam (1818–1888), who, as Arthur's younger sister, might simply have benefitted from improvements in medical care, lived, by Victorian standards, a full life. Once again, the evidence seems ambiguous, especially since we have no medical records for Ellen or Harry Hallam.

The death of at least one younger sibling surely had a sobering effect upon Arthur. In addition, in her autobiographical sketch, his mother mentions, four years before Arthur's birth, the "depression of spirit, & horror of mind, to which I have always been subject at times," a possible psychological, if not physiological, family inheritance. Yet critics have sought other reasons for Arthur's melancholy moods, for his "morbid disposition of mind" (see letter to Frere quoted above), for his tendency "to speak of death, even when all might have seemed well."[28] Rather jokingly, for example, he gave Gladstone permission to publish, as a self-fulfilled prophecy, his vision of lying ill in a foreign

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posthouse (quoted above) should he die during his trip to Italy. More seriously, five months later, he saw in the circumstances of Canning's premature death possible "proofs of an overruling moral government; as warnings to awaken the thoughts of futurity within us, and to make us more tremblingly alive to events of sorrow."[29] In the midst of the "fits of gloom" which accompanied his spiritual crisis in 1829, Hallam wrote of looking death and insanity in the face; later, having embraced the "scheme of Providential Love," he could resign himself to the doom assigned: "If it please God that I make the name I bear honored in a second generation, it will be by inward power, which is its own reward: if it please him not, I hope to go down to the grave unrepining, for I have lived, and loved, and been beloved."[30] This preceded his attachment, and subsequent engagement, to Emily Tennyson. But even his love for her, the overwhelming *raison d'etre* of the last years of his life, occasioned talk of death. In April 1830, in the first ecstasy of love, he wrote from Somersby that "If I die I hope to be buried here: for never in my life, I think, have I loved a place more." Two years later, as he prepared to renew his vows, he expressed a justified anxiety, only slightly undercut with humor, about the prospects of a happy outcome: "I am oppressed with the weight of the future—sometimes I feel as if it would be gain to lie down & die. Don't be a fool, you will say; much better get up, & be married. Why so I think too on the whole."[31] Reflecting upon the impediments to their marriage, Hallam wrote to Emily on 9 June 1832 that "if it please God to preserve us two years longer, three at the furthest, I have hope we may be married." Later references were more resigned, more frustrated, more desperate. In his 23 October 1832 letter, employing the most visionary language in his letters to Emily, he wrote of the "flood of Time":

> On it flows, that mighty stream, around me, in me, yet above me; very awful is it, & yet more awful the Ocean in which its waters shall be still: but between me & that Ocean lies a tract of Paradise. When I have passed through that, I am content to die; until I have reached that, I consume away with impatience, & bless every turn, every reach, every rapid that shortens the distance to that luminous region.

And in an impassioned outburst (in his 5 December 1832 letter), shortly before his first, and last, Christmas at Somersby, Hallam epitomized his emotional state:

> Oh never, never think for a moment when I write gaily, & talk of enjoyments, & amusements, that my heart is or can be in them. Sometimes I

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am reckless; sometimes I try to assume philosophy; but the intervals are rare & short in which I obtain oblivion of myself. To have known you, Emily; to love, & be beloved by you is to be either most happy or most wretched—there can be no cold medium. God have mercy upon us.[32]

Could Hallam, his family, or his friends, have anticipated his early death? Despite such talk, and the general fatalistic attitude among his friends, it seems unlikely. Henry Hallam would hardly have suggested a strenuous European trip had he been able in any way to foresee its consequences. And Arthur would have hardly pursued his efforts to wed Emily Tennyson so assiduously during the last two years of his life had he expected her soon to become his widow.[33] Hallam was no more (nor no less) inclined to speak of death than a number of his youthful, earnest, spiritually concerned contemporaries, whose orientation helped to determine one essential character of the Victorian age: its preoccupation with mortality. Despite a melancholy temperament —possibly the result of an inherited disposition whose physical consequences doomed him to an early death, but just as possibly the result of the fragmented character of his life—Hallam never abandoned the future.

Evidence from the medical record is equally ambiguous. At least one inference must be discounted: high facial color, which Hallam apparently exhibited, is no sign of hypertension, perhaps the most frequent cause of stroke. Nor, to modern medical opinion, do his illnesses suggest any significant pattern. Moreover, the most tangible piece of evidence, the autopsy report, must be considered in light of its inevitable limitations. Even today, autopsies offer only a good guess at the extraordinary numerous, and complicated, causes of death—witness the discovery, in the case of "Legionnaires's Disease," of a hitherto unrecognized lethal bacterium—after extensive, concentrated research. At the time of Hallam's autopsy, the microscope had just been introduced into the field of pathology, and such common diseases as tuberculosis were yet to be described. In addition, Rokitansky's primary work, and reputation, followed his autopsy of Hallam, although he was then "extraordinary professor of anatomic pathology."[34]

The autopsy, which took place on 17 September 1833, shows the state of the body to be consistent with death two days earlier. It suggests a relatively quick and peaceful death, though possibly accompanied by some convulsions (less severe, if, as accounts suggest, Hallam had been lying on a sofa at the time). Hallam's position also discounts the possibility that he might have suffered from trauma, i.e. an exter-

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nal injury. The report shows that Hallam had been leeched on his left arm and hand (note Doyle's veiled description of this in his 11 October 1833 above)—presumably in a vain attempt to restore consciousness after his father discovered his condition. The recorded normal size of the heart further discredits the possibility of hypertension.

According to modern medical opinion, three organs of the body examined in the autopsy—the lungs, the spleen, and the brain—seem to offer possible clues to the cause of Hallam's death. Rokitanksy's descriptions give no indication of his own possible diagnosis:

> The thyroid gland was gushing with blood, the trachea and esophagus filled with a dirty fluid. The lungs, much distended by air, their natural substance, were extremely red, contained a large amount of blood, were infarcted at their entrance with damaged tissue (plagae) and flooded with foamy fluid. The bronchial tubes carried a watery fluid mixed with blood serum.
>
> In each cavity of the thorax were four ounces of a red fluid [and] in the cavity around the heart was one ounce of the same liquid. The heart was of normal size but flaccid, while its atria, with the nearby stems of the arteries, contained a black-red bloody fluid.
>
> The liver was large and at its convex surface it clung to the diaphragm by means of a cellular tissue. It was a deep brown, swollen with irregular lobules, compacted, fragile and provided with much blood. The gall bladder contained brown-yellow bile [and] the portal vein was filled with bloody liquid.
>
> The spleen was almost twice its normal size, extremely red, rather thick, and ready to rupture. The pancreas was flabby, the solar plexus large, pale purple, limp but tough.
>
> The coverings of the cranium were suffused with a good deal of blood. In the area of the calvaria and at both temples the walls of the cranium were rather thin in the front, and at the back rather thick. On both sides the beginning of the sagittal suture was marked by clear pits and some protuberances. The falciform sinus contained a large quantity of thick, dark-red blood. Below the swollen arachnoid tunic was collected a gray serum that had condensed into the appearance of gelatine. The vessels of the pia mater were found to be varicose, tortuous, and swollen with black-red blood.
>
> The substance of the cerebrum was seen to be rather soft, and covered with a good amount of pasty blood, mixed with serous fluid toward the base of the cerebrum. The lateral ventricles of the cerebrum contained about two drams of a reddish serum and their septum was softened like mush. The stratum medullare surrounding the ventricles contained a swollen blue-red network of veins. The choroid plexuses were extremely red, the pineal gland small and appeared made up of tiny pieces. All the

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cerebral nerves were flaccid, the sinuses of the dura mater were swollen with thick blood and the convolutions of the cerebrum were prominent and roughened.[35]

All medical authorities agreed that Hallam's brain contained a great deal of blood, suggesting the rupture of a vessel in its vicinity. To some, the pattern of Hallam's headaches suggests a subdural, subarachnoid, or "berry," aneurysm at the base of his brain, whose rupture became a congenital inevitability, dooming him, in an age before microsurgery, to an early death. But a cerebral hemorrhage in the brain itself—literally "apoplexy," usually the result of hypertension, with few long-term symptoms—was also a possible cause.

On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that Hallam's death had little to do with his circulatory system. Examination of his lungs seems to indicate pneumonia, probably bilateral, with the possibility of pleuritis. The enlarged spleen suggests the possibility of some sort of general infectious process, including bacterial meningitis, even leukemia. There is even the possibility that Hallam fell prey to the Legionnaires's bacterium. As one physician has noted, "this may well be a case of an influenzal illness complicated by a fulminant pneumonia; such things may produce death rather quickly. One of our medical students died within the space of a few hours in such circumstances."[36]

One fact seems clear: Hallam was physically exhausted, in a weakened state, following his travels through Europe.[37] If his activity did not bring on a "cerebrovascular accident," it surely contributed to his susceptibility to other illnesses. Ironically, Henry Hallam's attempt temporarily to distract his son from concern about his engagement may have hastened, even brought about, his death. Henry may have felt a little guilty about his motives, if not his actions: following his son's death, he embraced the Tennyson family, settling £300 per annum on Emily, and helped to obtain Alfred's Civil List pension in 1845. He stood as godfather to Emily's first child, Arthur Hallam Jesse, and, in his will, left handsome sums to both Emily and Alfred.[38]

Though Tennyson had difficulty coming to terms with the "hard fact" of his friend's death—he never could bring himself to go to Vienna—his version of the event in *In Memoriam,* LXXXV ("in Vienna's fatal walls/ God's finger touched him, and he slept") seems, in light of the medical evidence, an appropriate poetic rendering. Of course, *In Memoriam* was only the centerpiece of Tennyson's numerous poems dealing with Hallam's death. "Hark! the dogs howl!" "Break, break, break," "In the Valley of Cauteretz," "In the Garden at

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Swainston," "To the Rev. W. H. Brookfield," "Vastness," and "Merlin and the Gleam" all contain explicit references to the "shadow of the man I loved." And "Whispers," "On a Mourner," "Ulysses," "Tithon" (the early version of "Tithonus"), "Tiresias," "Youth," "Oh! that 'twere possible" (the genesis of *Maud*), and—arguably—"Enoch Arden" were all written under Hallam's continuing influence.[39] Indeed, with the "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington" [Arthur Wellesley] and *Idylls of the King,* the apotheosis of Arthur took on a new meanings and applications, though Tennyson's impulse—"hero worship"—remained much the same.

The interplay of fact and poetic transformation seems clearest, however, in the poem which shares the title of this article. "The Epic"—actually the frame of "Morte d'Arthur"—anticipates the significance of Christmas, or rather the Christmases, in *In Memoriam.* In both works, Tennyson draws upon the spiritual rebirth associated with the occasion to counter, and ultimately, to overcome, the death of Arthur. In the "Epic" frame, Tennyson makes the same association between "Morte d'Arthur" and specific developments in his time ("church-commissioners . . . Geology and schism") leading to the potential "decay of faith" that he will develop in his elegy; Everard Hall's depreciation of his work as irrelevant and inappropriate also anticipates the questions Tennyson poses about his own "wild and wandering cries" in *In Memoriam* (see, for example, sections V, XXI, and XXXVII).

Yet in the earlier poem, the parallels seem more precise. Arthur receives his death-wound "smitten through the helm," and sails on a bark down a river to his death (or potential apotheosis). His passing signals the dissolution of the "goodliest fellowship of famous knights" (Hallam had remained the "spiritual" leader of the Cambridge Apostles long after his graduation in January 1832).[40] Though Bedivere, unlike Tennyson, has the chance to bid final farewell to his Arthurian mentor, both are left with the problem—essentially poetic—of doing justice to the departed man and his works. Both must deal with the essentially evolutionary message:

> For what are men better than sheep or goats
> The nourish a blind life within the brain,
> If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
> Both for themselves and those who call them friend?

And both are offered the Christmas hope that Arthur is not dead, only transformed: if he does not "come again," he may at least serve as a

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"noble type" for future inspiration and development of man. Hence the personal endorsement for the surviving poet of "remodelling models," of the casting of the human ideal in artistic form.

Hallam was fortunate in his family and friends: unlike, for example, that of Edward Spedding, his passing could hardly be ignored. Yet even in its prose embodiment—his father's account—Arthur's death was interpreted, even distorted, to suit a preconceived pattern. If its circumstances failed to fit that pattern, fiction could be substituted for fact. Yet it is the circumstances of Hallam's death, uncertain and mundane as they are, that testify to the artistic mastery, with the characteristic teleological orientation, of Tennyson's use of them in his poetry.

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NOTES

1. 17 October 1833 letter to Henry Hallam (draft in the British Library), excerpted in Henry Hallam's "Preface" to Arthur Henry Hallam, *Remains in Verse and Prose* (privately printed, 1834), p. xxxvii.
2. See vol. 2 (1833–39) of *The Gladstone Diaries,* ed. M. R. D. Foot (Oxford U. P., 1968); *Reminiscences and Opinions of Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, 1813–1885* (1886); T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes* (1890); *Richard Chenevix Trench, Archbishop. Letters and Memorials,* ed. M. Trench (1888); *William Bodham Donne and his Friends,* ed. Catharine Johnson (1905); and *Life, Journals and Letters of Henry Alford,* ed. by his widow (1873), which shows that Alford visited Hallam's tomb in 1848, possibly two years before Tennyson's first visit (see note 15 below). Letters of condolence to Henry Hallam are in the Hallam family papers at the Christ Church Library, Oxford; still invaluable for the response of the Tennyson family is Hallam Tennyson's *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son* (2 vols., 1897), though—as Philip Elliot (*The Making of the Memoir,* Furman University, 1978) has demonstrated—earlier, uncirculated versions of Hallam Tennyson's work (all at the Tennyson Research Centre, Lincoln) offer a fuller and more representative portrait. For more recent accounts, see Sir Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (London: Macmillan, 1949); Robert Bernard Martin, *Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); *The Letters of Arthur Henry Hallam,* ed. Jack Kolb (Columbus: Ohio State U. P., 1981)—subsequently referred to as *Letters;* and *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson,* vol. 1: 1821–1850, ed. Cecil Lang and Edgar F. Shannon, Jr. (Harvard U. P., 1981).
3. Ellen Hallam's description of the 3 August leave-taking (in her private journals, property of Lady Margaret Elton) stresses the emotion that pervades her recollections—her inability to believe Arthur's death: "What makes [his death] so dreamlike is that I was far from him; when I last looked upon him he was

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apparently in perfect health. And yet was not there a presage of evil in my heart when he pressed me in his arms. I went up to bed & cried bitterly." This, of course, is one of the first reactions to death: see *In Memoriam,* XIV.

4. See *Letters,* pp. 751–752; 764; 770.
5. See *Letters,* pp. 775; 780–781; 789–791.
6. Recounted in *Lady Tennyson's Journal,* ed. Jay Hoge (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1981), p. 299.
7. Tennyson Research Centre. According to Ellen Hallam's journals, the news reached her family on 28 September, three days before Henry Hallam's arrival.
8. Doyle's 3 and 11 October letters to Gladstone are in the British Library; Gaskell's 19 October letter to Gladstone contains essentially the same account. Charles Peers' 11 October letter to Henry Hallam is at Christ Church.
9. "Henry Hallam" in *Biographical Sketches* (1869); Martineau's *Autobiography* (1877) contains an abbreviated account of the incident.
10. From an account in Joseph Williams Blakesley's 4 November 1833 letter to his mother, in the Trinity College Library. Peter Allen prints the account in *The Cambridge Apostles: The Early Years* (Cambridge U. P., 1978), p. 153.

    In a 1 February 1898 letter to Gladstone (British Library), William H. Heckler, an English chaplain in Vienna, identified the hotel to which Hallam had died: 63 Landstrasse, called "Zur Goldenen Birne" ["To the Golden Pear"]. Heckler enclosed a copy of the death certificate, which listed "Schlagfluss" ("stroke") as the cause. Heckler hoped to dedicate a "votive tablet" at the location, and asked Gladstone (who would die three months later) to write a dedication, and to be present at its unveiling. Apparently nothing came of the plan, and the hotel was destroyed during World War II.
11. Henry Hallam's letter to Milnes is at Trinity College; his 19 December letter to Tennyson, from London, in the Tennyson Research Centre. Tennyson's concern about the ship, and the body it bears, is a central theme through sections IX-XVIII of *In Memoriam:* I quote from sections X and XVII.
12. Tennyson Research Centre.
13. Rader (*Tennyson's Maud: The Biographical Genesis* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963], pp. 11–21) established the significance of Rashdall's diary for Tennyson scholars. See also *In Memoriam,* XVIII.
14. Tennyson's letter to Henry Hallam, dated 14 February 1834, is printed in the Eversley edition of Tennyson's *Works* (1908).
15. Elliott (*The Making of the Memoir,* pp. 25–27) discusses the evidence that Tennyson might have seen Hallam's tomb at Clevedon before the well-recorded trip with his new bride in June 1850. Apparently Tennyson did visit Henry Hallam at Wraxall Lodge, near Bristol, in 1845, when he might reasonably have accompanied Arthur's father to the church. But Martin (*Tennyson,* p. 338), arguing that "the memory of his dead friend would have been too painful until it was partially exorcized by his own marriage," accepts the 1850 date. An appendix to Gordon Ray's *Tennyson Reads Maud* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1968) prints Knowles' notes, the basis of his article in *The Nineteenth Century* 33 (1893), transcribed in a copy of *The Works of Alfred Tennyson* (1872). These notes, "made by me from Tennyson's dictation" describe Hallam as "buried on 3d of January 1834 in the Chancel of Clevedon

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Church," in a passage otherwise distinguished by its factual accuracy (Ray, p. 37).

16. Malan's original note appeared in the 22 September 1883 number (6th series, 8:221–223). Malan (who gives the sexton's name as Augustus *Hare*) printed Tennyson's response (also published in the *Memoir,* 1:305n.2)—which reiterated the poet's justification for his error about Hallam's burial place—in his follow-up note in *Notes and Queries,* 24 January 1885 (6th series, 11:66). "C.J.C." argued in the same journal (27 September 1890: 7th series, 10:244–245) that *In Memoriam,* XIX showed Bristol was at least where Tennyson *thought* the body had landed: "The Danube to the Severn gave/The darken'd heart that beat no more." Yet "C. J. C." could only speculate, and he too sought confirmation from students of Tennyson's work who might investigate port, newspaper, and undertakers' records.
17. See Gatty, pp. 22–23 [notes to sections XVIII and XIX of *In Memoriam*].
18. After studying medicine at Edinburgh, Holland (1788–1873) began practice in London in 1816; see his *Recollections of Past Life* (1872), pp. 226–227. The autopsy report (in Latin) is at Yale. Rokitansky (1804–1878) was considered the founder of the "New Vienna School" of pathological anatomy: in 1833, in the midst of a period of intense interest in morbid anatomy and clinical diagnosis, he was assistant to the professor of pathological anatomy in Vienna, whom he succeeded as prosector in 1834. I quote from a memorandum dealing with Hallam's death from Dr. Robert W. Prichard, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Pathology at the Bowman Gray School of Medicine, Wake Forest University, to whom I am deeply indebted for the medical analysis that follows.
19. Hallam's childhood ailments are listed in his mother's biographical sketch (written 1838–39), property of Lady Elton; see *Letters,* pp. 164; 179; 184 for his 13 August, 30 October, and 15 December 1827 letters to Gladstone.
20. Richard Monckton Milnes' description of Hallam's illness in his 12 June 1829 letter to his parents (Houghton Papers, Trinity College Library).
21. 16 September 1829 letter to Frere (quoted), 2 October 1829 letter to Robertson, and 3 April 1832 letter to Emily Tennyson (quoted). See also Hallam's description in his 6 July 1829 letter to Robertson: "You have probably heard that I have been ill lately with a complaint in the head; but you cannot have heard and can have no adequate idea of the miseries I suffered in mind, before that complaint came on: the most abject despondency mixed with vague dread and strong remorse. Oh, my God! I hope never to know such days as those again. Since my illness I am much better. I see my way out of my glooms when they come upon me, and I despair less of ultimate peace of mind" (*Letters,* pp. 297; 322–323; 326; 328–330; 542–543; see also pp. 448; 715).
22. Kemble's remarks are quoted in *Memoir* (1:105–106); Trench's 9 October 1833 letter to Donne, and Donne's 23 October 1833 response, are property of Miss. M. Barham Johnson.
23. *Reminiscences,* pp. 40–41; Gladstone, "Arthur Hallam" [25 November 1893 draft in the British Library], published in *The Prime Ministers' Papers: W. E. Gladstone. I: Autobiographica,* ed. John Brooke and Mary Sorensen (London: HMSO, 1971), pp. 29–32. In "Arthur Henry Hallam" (reprinted from "The Youth's Companion," 6 January 1898), Gladstone commented that "it was

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probably well for him that he participated in no game or strong bodily exercise, as I imagine it might have precipitated the effects of that hidden organic malformation which put an end to his life in 1833 . . . he bore upon him, even at this period, one mark, significant if slight, of the coming doom. . . . I [had] sometimes seen him at the conclusion of [a period of study]; it was always with a delicate but deep rosy flush upon his cheeks, reaching to the eyes" (pp. 11; 17–18).

24. *Remains,* pp. xvii; xxxiv. See Trench's 22 January 1834 letter to Donne (Miss Johnson): "I hear [Henry Hallam's] heart is smitten down and withered—he was an ambitious man for his Son, and of course had high hopes from him—and not—alas! those hopes which can bear to be transplanted to a better soil."

25. See Merivale's 7 October 1833 letter to W. H. Thompson, published in *Autobiography of Dean Merivale,* ed. Judith Anne Merivale (1899), pp. 134–135; Garden's 26 November letter to Trench in Trench's *Letters and Memorials* (1:148); and Spedding's 3 March 1834 letter to Henry Hallam (Christ Church). Edward Spedding died on 24 August 1832; Tennyson's sentiments are epitomized in lines 45–48 of "To J. S.":

> I will not say, "God's ordinance
> Of Death is blown in every wind;"
> For that is not a common chance
> That takes away a noble mind.

26. See Henry Hallam's 25 October 1833 letter to Gladstone (British Library) and 11 November 1833 letter to Gaskell (published in *Records of an Eton Schoolboy,* ed. Charles Milnes Gaskell [1883]); his letter to Tennyson, from Clifton, is in the Tennyson Research Centre.

27. A transcript of Henry Hallam's 23 October 1833 to Maria Callcott is in the Tennyson Research Centre; his 25 October 1833 letter to Gladstone, giving Holland's opinion, is in the British Library. See also *Remains,* p. xxxv.

28. Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson* (London: Macmillan, 1972), p. 73.

29. 13 August 1827 letter to Gladstone (*Letters,* p. 165).

30. 14 September 1829 letter to Gladstone (*Letters,* p. 317; see also pp. 301; 309).

31. 13 April 1830 letter to Blakesley and 4 February 1832 letter to William Henry Brookfield (*Letters,* pp. 360; 516). See also Hallam's language in his early March 1832 letter to Trench: "I am now at Somersby, not only as the friend of Alfred Tennyson, but as the lover of his sister. An attachment on my part of near two years' standing, and a mutual engagement of one year, are, I fervently hope, only the commencement of an union which circumstances may not impair and the grave itself not conclude" (*Letters,* p. 534).

32. *Letters,* pp. 594; 671; 697.

33. Dr. John Brown's simplistic but influential tribute to Hallam—in the *North British Review,* XIV (1851), 486–514; reprinted in Hallam Tennyson's *Tennyson and his Friends* (1911)—suggested that Arthur was indeed aware of his impending death: "[His] state of health would enhance, and tend to produce . . . that habitual seriousness of thought, that sober judgment, and that tendency to look at the true life of things—that deep but gentle and calm sadness, and that occasional sinking of the heart. . . . This feeling of personal insecurity—of life being ready to slip away—the sensation that this world and its on-goings, its

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mighty interests, and delicate joys, is ready to be shut up in a moment . . . would tend to make him 'walk softly,' and to keep him from much of the evil that is in the world" (*Friends,* p. 455).

34. I wish to thank Dr. Lawrence C. McHenry, Jr., Professor of Neurology at the Bowman Gray School of Medicine; his colleagues in the department of pathology, Drs. Modesto Scharyj, Rudolf Paula, and N. R. Ghatak; and Drs. Cory Mahler, Louis Daugherty, and James R. Krasno, for their assistance in the analysis of the autopsy report and Hallam's medical history. I have also drawn indirectly upon the analysis prepared for my late colleague, T. H. Vail Motter, by the late George W. Corner; Dr. Lowell W. Lapham, then Professor of Pathology at the School of Medicine and Dentistry of the University of Rochester; and Dr. Edwin A. Weinstein of Bethesda, Maryland.
35. The translation was prepared by Charles W. Lockyear, Jr.—then at the Department of Classics, Princeton University—and revised by George Corner.
36. 15 January 1974 memorandum from Dr. Robert Prichard.
37. See, for example, Hallam's account (30 August 1833 letter to Emily Tennyson) of the strenuous descent into the salt mines at Hallein (*Letters,* pp. 778–780).
38. Henry Hallam's allowance to Emily Tennyson was continued after her marriage in 1842; he left her £1000 and Alfred £500. See Martin's *Tennyson,* pp. 185; 292.
39. See verbal and thematic parallels drawn by Christopher Ricks in his authoritative edition of Tennyson's *Poems* (London: Longmans, 1969).
40. See Peter Allen's excellent treatment in *The Cambridge Apostles,* especially chapter IX, and Marcia C. Culver, "The Death and Birth of an Epic: Tennyson's 'Morte d'Arthur'," *Victorian Poetry* 20 (1982), 51–61.

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MARLENE SPRINGER

Stowe and Eliot: An Epistolary Friendship

That Harriet Beecher Stowe fired the novel heard round the world and that she subsequently became one of the most famous women of all time are two commonplaces agreed upon by critics and citizens alike. Unfortunately, neither the initial shot nor the fame sustained itself. New interest in both women authors and popular nineteenth-century literature has partially broken Stowe's fall from favor; but much remains to be done. One critical piece missing from the collage of her personal and literary life is an exploration of her intriguing epistolary friendship with George Eliot.[1] That Stowe and Eliot were such friends has sporadically been mentioned in biography and criticism; Gordon Haight quotes briefly from the letters, but only comments: "though they never met, the correspondence thus began continued till George Eliot's death."[2] Annie Fields, Stowe's close friend, and Charles Stowe, her son, devote more space but little more analysis to the friendship; both biographers severely edit four (out of a total fourteen) Stowe letters they choose to quote. More recently, Ann Douglas, Ellen Moers, and others have mentioned the correspondence in passing—but since the Stowe letters have not yet been published, and because when they are mentioned they are tangential to a larger thesis, the content of the correspondence and what it reveals about these writers have largely been ignored.[3]

Stowe and Eliot were so seemingly unlike in style, temperament, religion, even personal lives, that they would appear to have little more than sex and pen in common. Yet their letters reveal a sincere attachment—one that was personally and professionally stimulating

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and that can be seen as emblematic of the close connections formed by women writers of the period. Much more than the simple pleasantries that might be expected of people who never met, they wrote of issues central to their lives: mutual literary criticism; their religious positions, with attendant discussion of the topic close to Harriet's heart but antithetical to Eliot's intellect: spiritualism; their bond of shared womanhood and by extension their interest in women's rights; and even of their private relations with husbands, siblings, chidren, and friends.

Apparently without any preconceived motivation, Harriet wrote her first letter to Eliot on April 15, 1869, from her home in Mandarin, Florida. That she should have decided to initiate the correspondence does not, upon reflection, come as a surprise. Both women already knew much of each other, and George Eliot had even favorably (though reservedly) reviewed *Dred* in *The Westminister Review* of October, 1856. Moreover, Eliot recalled seeing Stowe's now famous letter to a mutual friend, Mrs. Eliza Follen, where she describes herself as: "a little bit of a woman, rather more than forty, as withered and dry as a pinch of snuff—never very well worth looking at in my best days, and now a decidedly used up particle."[4] Eliot says of this letter, it "is most fascinating and makes one love her."[5] In 1869 Stowe was fifty-seven years old and still at the height of her fame—a fame appreciated by recalling that at her first public appearance in London, her huge audience stood until she sat down, an honor ordinarily reserved for the Queen.[6] *Uncle Tom's Cabin, Dred, A Minister's Wooing,* 25 volumes in all, had appeared and were generally well received. Moreover, when Stowe wrote to Eliot, "The True Story of Lady Byron's Life" had not yet appeared, and thus her personal popularity had not yet begun the precipitous decline which that unfortunate work perpetrated. George Eliot, too, was, of course, a well-established author—*Scenes From Clerical Life, Adam Bede, The Mill on the Floss, Silas Marner,* and *Felix Holt* had all been published; *Adam Bede* had been a sensational success, making an impression topped only, says Gordon Haight, by *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[7] The time was fortuitous. Her first letter indicates that Harriet somehow sensed her advances would be well received, even by someone as reserved as George Eliot.

This first letter is representative, both in tone and content, of the correspondence that was to come. Stowe opens her letter with a reference to their mutual acquaintance, Annie Fields, saying that she had planned to write earlier but that she had been very busy with a new book *(Old Town Folks),* and expresses her fear that the book is too

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American to be appreciated by an English audience. With no apparent sense of her presumption, she moves from her own artistic insecurity to an analysis of Eliot's work—*Silas Marner* and *Adam Bede,* both of which she had reread before writing her letter. She also commends *Scenes From Clerical Life,* and then ventures her first in what is to be a series of literary suggestions to Eliot: that "some things in those sketches have never been executed in your best works—'Janet's Repentance' is a theme that might have been expanded into a novel of greater length. . . ." Stowe praises Eliot, however, for her brilliant insight into the moral faculties and for her religious development, a theme that she will expand in subsequent letters. She then goes on to cement a kinship with Eliot on the basis of their common womanhood (though Stowe recognizes that Eliot's being "by nature so *thoroughly English*" does somewhat separate them), and links previous religious comments with this bond: "being a woman your religion must be different from man's." Stowe assures Eliot that "my soul is walking as it often does along side of your soul," and that they do indeed commune. She then continues to note their similarities by turning to another point they share: husbands interested in Goethe, telling Eliot that Calvin has collected every possible edition of Goethe and is at present hard at work on an article on his theology. She ends with a paragraph on her preference for English prose to poetry, commending Eliot for the poetry of her prose, and wishing that Mrs. Browning had written more of it. Pleading with Eliot to visit them in America, she signs her letter "I am with true regard and affection/Ever Yours H. B. Stowe."

Thus began an exchange that was to be warm even if erratic. Stowe wrote 14 personal letters to Eliot. Fortunately, she recalled all of her important letters when Charles started to write her biography, and all but one of those to Eliot are now in the Berg collection in New York.[8] They are in Stowe's hand, difficult to read, but usually legible except on those occasions when Harriet decided to write down the side of the page or, in one letter, vertically over a section she had already written on horizontally. As is typical of her correspondence, several of the letters have lengthy postscripts. Obviously, Stowe was at ease writing to Eliot, not feeling a deferent need for neatness or revision. Eliot answered with 11 letters, all easily available in Gordon Haight's excellent edition. In the eleven years of their correspondence, there are four periods (1869–72; 1874–76; 1876–78; 1878–80) when two years lapsed between replies. The silence however, did not derail the sentiment.

That Stowe and Eliot should have found a mutual literary bond is

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still rather surprising to modern critics, given the obvious sentimentality of Stowe's canon. Yet Harriet's early recognition of the "moral faculty" in Eliot's work naturally led to a mutual admiration—one that Harriet unabashedly expressed and occasionally exploited. Her candid remark about her worries over the provincial appeal of *Old Town Folks* struck a sympathetic chord with Eliot. Having had her share of troubles with critics and audiences, she reassures Stowe that her

> fears are groundless as to the obstacles your new book may find here from its thoroughly American character. Most readers who are likely to be really influenced by writing above the common order will find that special aspect an added reason of interest and study, and I dare say you have long seen, as I am beginning to see with new clearness, that if a book which has any sort of exquisiteness happens also to be a popular widely circulated book, its power over the social mind, for any good, is after all due to its reception by a few appreciative natures, and is the slow result of radiation from that narrow circle.

These must have been welcome words to a woman whom Forest Wilson describes as sharing the Beecher family trait of holding some contempt for the general public and rather cynically feeding that public what it wanted to hear.[9] Stowe, in her second letter to Eliot (May 25, 1869) writes her assent, adding:

> Is it not true that what we authors want is not praise so much as sympathy? A book is a hand stretched forth in the dark passage of life to see if there is another hand to meet it. . . . Now in your works if you could read my marked edition of them you would see how often the hand has met the kindred hand.

Having been assured of a sympathetic reader, Harriet in this second letter identifies the autobiographical sources for *Old Town Folks,* admitting that the book is almost a personal letter, "being so much an expression of my *own* inner thinking," and that much of the book "is my husband's early history as he revealed it to me . . . the spiritualistic phenomena were his." She draws parallels from her life: The young boy in the story is her son Henry, who died at 19, "Mr. Avery was a faint pattern after my dear many sided father . . . ," and the list goes on. Eliot replies (11 July 1869) that she truly appreciates Harriet's picture of the elder generation, saying that her interest in it stems both from love for provincial life and her "experimental acquaintance with some shades of Calvinistic orthodoxy," which she credits Harriet with having described in an insightful and truly tolerant way:

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A thorough comprehension of the mixed moral influence shed on society by dogmatic systems is rare even among writers, and one misses it altogether in English drawing-room talk. I thank you sincerely for the gift (in every sense) of this book, which I can see has been a labor of love.

Once again Harriet did not limit herself to comments on her own work. In the May 25 letter she discusses *The Mill on the Floss* as a perceptive book on the position of women:

> Tom has made the laws for women and judged women by them but the day is coming when Maggie is to judge Tom and show him that there is a higher style of living than *ever* he dreamed of—Maggie whose weakness was stronger than Tom's strength but who didn't know and who does not *yet* know how much more than he, she is—The day of women's co-equal reign however is coming and you dear tho you little think it are helping to bring it in. *Merely by being what you are.*

Here, however, Tom is used metaphorically to explain a broad issue; in subsequent letters Harriet turns her attention to a direct literary analysis of Eliot's work, specifically, first to *Middlemarch* and later to *Daniel Deronda.*

Harriet first expresses her interest in *Middlemarch* in her letter of February 8, 1872. In this note she says to Eliot that she has "sent north to have them send me the *Harper's Weekly* in which [your] new story is appearing. . . ."[10] It is possibly the appearance of this new novel of Eliot's that motivated Harriet to resume her correspondence, for two years had lapsed since she had received Eliot's letter of 10 December 1869—and this silence in spite of the fact that Eliot and Lewes had lost "their son," and Eliot had then written that "some brief news of you and yours will be especially welcome just now." (Harriet apologizes for her silence, blames an abundance of work, and, inexplicably avoiding Eliot's pain, goes on to other topics.) In her next letter, May 11, 1872, she first complains that she is not receiving her installments of *Middlemarch,* but concludes the long letter by saying that the first number has arrived and that she sees much of Eliot herself in the novel. Harriet astutely notes too what critics have subsequently analyzed in depth, that Eliot is using a web metaphor to develop what already promises to be a tragedy. Harriet assures Eliot that "your spider webs are well attached and the web will be strong."

Eliot answered this letter immediately (24 June 1872), but did not pursue Harriet's references to *Middlemarch.* Three months later Stowe wrote again (23 September 1872). By now she was well into the novel and had spiritually adopted it, though she warns Eliot that "you write

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too well my darling—altogether too well to be pitched into *Harper's Weekly* along with Edmond Yates and Miss Braddon . . . Your story is for the thoughtful—for the artist, for the few." She then promises a review: "when it is all out I shall try and interpret it to the many." She goes on to tell Eliot that she has taken as part of her creed one of Dorothea's sayings to Ladislaw about whatever is honestly attempted for good becomes part of the great force for good that is moving through the universe. More important, she identifies wholly with Dorothea's trials with a literary husband, asserting that Eliot, too, must be familiar with the frustrations of dealing with husbands who "go on forever getting ready to begin—absorbing learning like sponges —planning sublime literary enterprises which never have a *now* to them." Eliot in her quick response, probably written in October, denies any connection between Lewes and Casaubon:

> But do not for a moment imagine, that Dorothea's marriage experience is drawn from my own. Impossible to conceive any creature less like Mr. Casaubon than my warm, enthusiastic husband, who cares much more for my doing than his own, and is a miracle of freedom from all author's jealousy and all suspicion. I feel that the Casaubon-tints are not quite foreign to my own mental complexion. At any rate I am very sorry for him.

Harriet, however, was not to be dissuaded by disclaimers, and continued to favor the notion despite these protests to the contrary.

She was more on the mark with her other comments on *Middlemarch.* In her letter of September 26, 1892, Casaubon continues to be the object of her "mingled pity and indignation," Dorothea receiving much sympathy for being attached to "so cold and repulsive a rock. He is a little too dreadful for anything. . . ." But Stowe's charity takes hold; she realizes he is more to be pitied than scorned, though the scene in the garden after the interview with the doctor does rest heavily on her mind. She goes on to tell Eliot that what is missing from the novel is an element of joy, of fun, and if she could only get Eliot to Florida, they would take her down from the high place on which she lives and writes: "We want to get you over here and into this house where with closed doors we sometimes make the rafters ring with fun —and say anything and everything no matter what—won't be any properer than we'd a mind to be—"

Ultimately, however, Harriet unfortunately returned to her initial mixed, and limited, assessment of *Middlemarch.* On April 20, 1873 [misdated 1831] she wrote:[11] "It is a book for the few—not the many—it is above the lives of ordinary thinking and it is not vitalized by any

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great human tragic view where all feel in common. Like *Adam Bede* it addresses the intellect and the artistic sense more than the heart. I have even joyed in *Middlemarch* because it is you tho by no means the highest and best in you. As art it is perfect—but perfect art as an end—not an instrument—has little to interest me. The pleasure I sense from it is of a calm unimpassioned kind—but it is you that interests me yourself." Harriet has recognized that the genius of the novel lies in Eliot-as-narrator, and Eliot herself, but her judgment that the book lacks tragedy and that its appeal is purely intellectual is surprisingly insensitive. It is best explained as the critical judgment of an author who is firmly fixed in the lachrymose tradition of her time, whose standard for an appeal to the heart was a far cry from Eliot's. Eliot politely chose to ignore the exegesis.

Harriet's subsequent criticism of Eliot's other work is more detached and more accurate. *Daniel Deronda,* Stowe tells Eliot in her letter of March 18, 1876, "has succeeded in awakening my somewhat worn out mind." She and Calvin read the novel as it appeared in monthly installments; after finishing the last episode, she wrote (September 25, 1876), a lengthy critique of the novel. She readily recognized that the story "divides itself as a parson might say, into two heads—English life and Jewish life." This division is mirrored in the Stowes' reading of the novel, for, Harriet asserts, Calvin was especially interested in the Jewish question, having for many years "cultivated a personal intimacy with the leading Rabbi," frequented a synagogue, and made a thorough study of Jewish writings. (Harriet's familiar name for Calvin was "my Rabbi," a term she often used in her correspondence with Eliot.) Harriet herself is interested in the question by association, some of his "spare learning having rubbed off onto me"; she too is intrigued by the *Deronda* sections of the book. However, her "heart blood vibrates more toward Gwendolen than Mirah"; it is the struggles of Grandcourt and Gwendolen, the English section of the book, that called for her strongest sympathy and insight. All traces of her father's harsh Calvinism are gone as she empathizes in two long paragraphs that reveal both the substance and style of Stowe's criticism:

> The two characters of Gwendolen and Grandcourt are I think the artistic gems. Grandcourt as doing the work of the villain in the play without any of the burnt cork of a stage villain—I can't imagine any character more utterly worthless and disagreeable, yet invested throughout with such an air of worldly respectability and probability. There is great reliance in his wickedness. Not a monster by any means. Making suitable

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and even generous provision for the woman he is tired of—and treating the woman he marries with every external form of consideration and only occasionally swearing at her in strictest privacy. The point in courtship where he ejaculates "damn her!" under his breath is a comment on such marriages worth pages of disquisition and the beauty of it is—that you have no moral reflection. The grim distinctness with which you set forth "marriage a la mode" with the rector pointing out to the young girl the duty of securing a brilliant match and comforting himself with the reflection that she cannot know anything about previous irregularities—is a stroke of satire [?] on English good society which I suppose they hardly appreciate—but I do. . . .

But infinitely the most intriguing character to me is Gwendolen. Of the artistic *vitality* of the character I need no other proof than that I have been called on at various tea tables to defend her as earnestly as if she had been an actual neighbor giving parties round the corner. To my mind, so far from being an exceptionally selfish or worldly woman—she stands in the midst of a heathenly selfish and utterly worldly state of society—a creature of higher impulses sensitive to the very first suggestion of moral right. She is like a young eagle who has been brought up among barnyard chickens with clipped wings—full of uneasy instincts that point to soaring among the clouds of heaven. A frivolous or hard, or morally selfish woman would have worn the diamonds with a self-satisfied grin and taken the gold the Gods provided without many reflections on how or at what expense she currently has them. Nor is there anything in the world to me more painfully pathetic than the blind struggles of such a soul for its native air—its ideal completeness. And it is mournful to see how utterly Godless are all who undertake to guide her. Had *Deronda* been educated a Jew he might have told her out of his old testament scripture that there was a teacher and guide who dwells in the soul of those who aspire after good—that the High and Lofty one who inhabiteth eternity dwells in the stricken spirit of the humble "to revive the heart of the contrite one"—he might have told her of one who "to those of no might increaseth strength"—of one who says "I will bring the blind by a way that they know not, and I will make darkness light before them and crooked things straight—these things might I do to them and not forsake them!" And it appears that the young English gentleman of our time knows neither the God of the old testament nor the Jesus of the new—the Jesus who came to save his people from their sins—and has nothing to give to this imploring anguish and vague aspiration of a soul longing for purity—literally nothing.

Harriet's commentary here is as humane as it is pious, and surprisingly tolerant. She closes her critique of this book with a note on finances, always a concern of hers:

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Your book dear friend is a splendid success artistically—and I am happy to learn, financially. Even genius must have the pounds and shillings and I know what they are worth and I hope you have what will purchase you a season of leisure and rest.

George Eliot responds warmly (October 29, 1876), saying that she appreciates the support on the Jewish issue[12] and that she had expected even more resistance than she received. Eliot continues that indeed her original intent in making her hero Jewish (Stowe had commended her bravery on that matter), was to treat Jews sympathetically in hope of countering some of the English stupidity concerning them that is "still the average mark of our culture." She also shows her fiduciary awareness, however, when she admits that her current "independence of material things" has enabled her to withstand any temptation to accommodate her writing to the popular taste, or prejudice.

Stowe, then, was frank in her literary analysis of Eliot, offering suggestions when she felt them necessary, even while being deservedly generous in her praise. These sections on *Deronda,* however, are important beyond their immediate substance, for they indicate Harriet's tone when she writes on moral issues in general, religion in particular. Throughout she proselytizes.

Her own religious position by the 1860's was perfectly clear to her and has often been outlined by subsequent biographers. Briefly, after a rigorous and harsh religious indoctrination in a household that was rigidly governed by one minister and spawned seven others, Harriet, in 1857, rejected the intolerant Calvinism of her father which had condemned her sister's dead, unconverted fiance and her own son to hell, and adopted instead a minimal concern for dogma but a strong conviction that on all moral issues and religious concerns the Bible and especially the teachings of Jesus were the supreme authority.[13] Ultimately she was to join the Episcopal Church in 1864, and God was always to be her close companion, even her amanuensis for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* if one is to believe her testimony. She was a writer of hymns, and all of her novels are suffused with Christian piety. It is no wonder that her letters to Eliot are too. She had unbounded respect for Eliot's intellect, and she knew of their shared rejection of Evangelicism, but Eliot's "religion of humanity" must have rankled. She consistently tries to convince Eliot—the translator of Strauss' *Life of Jesus*—of the efficacy of believing in a divine as well as a historical Jesus. She comes close at times even to convincing herself that Eliot *was* a Christian, whether she would admit it or not. A sampling from the letters gives a good

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indication of her persuasion and persistance. She writes, for example, in her letter dated April 20, 1873:

> I seem to feel that you exhaust yourself with too constant giving of your life forces to others and that you need a more positive communion with Him who is immortal youth health strength and vitality. You say of Dorothea—she no longer prays not knowing what to ask for—but prayer is not merely asking—it is resting—it is renewing of vitality hope courage in our Father's arms—it is listening to his voice and feeling His life pass into us—they that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength—they shall mount up on [wings] as eagles—they shall run and not be weary—they shall walk and not faint. If there is anything I know by experience it is this.

This diadactic tone gets progressively intense; in her September 25, 1876 letter Stowe is most explicit. In a long section devoted to religious topics she subtly lectures Eliot, saying of Jesus:

> It is not instruction *about* goodness people need—they need an Almighty inseparable Friend of their souls ever present, pure yet sympathetic and strong—to protect them from themselves and bear them above themselves—and alas—if I am to read your picture of English life as you see it there is no such friend there. For me, it is now fifty years since that Friend became a living presence to me and ever since that He has been the Inspirer—consoler and strength of my life,—and to read of those who struggle for goodness without knowing Him is painful to me to read of others who die of hunger when there is bread enough to spare. Christ is my Life—all I ever have been able to do or suffer—all my hope for the poor and oppressed has been my feeling sense of his living presence and that He is ruling all things.

And, in a final letter, May 6, 1880, written seven months before Eliot died in December, Stowe assures her that even if she is not a believer now she soon will be: "He loves you and will yet show himself in this life or the next—and when I meet you there I trust He will have wiped every tear from your eyes."

Eliot had, with the rest of the world, long known of Harriet's piety, and had pragmatically commended her for it in her review of *Dred.* While clearly writing as a distant observer rather than a co-religionist, she acknowledges the positive aesthetic affects of religious fervor:

> The strength of Mrs. Stowe's own religious feeling is a great artistic advantage to her here; she never makes you feel that she is coldly calculating an effect, but you see that she is all—a-glow for the moment with the wild enthusiasm, the unreasoning faith, and the steady martyr-spirit of Dred, or Tiff or of Father Dickson.

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She goes on to say that in *Dred,* Harriet's "keen sense of humour" "preserves her from extravagance and monotony." Such a preservative is not an ingredient in religious sections of Stowe's letters, however, and Eliot, as an equally convinced lapsed Christian chooses to be first firm then tactful in her answer. In her first letter to Stowe, in response to Harriet's indirect inquiry ("I often ask myself what is the innermost by which she lives"), Eliot outlines her religious position in a tone pointedly different from Stowe's emotional approach:

> And that thought lies very close to what you say as to your wonder or conjecture concerning my religious point of view. I believe that religion too has to be modified—"developed," according to the dominant phrase —and that a religion more perfect than any yet prevalent, must express less care for personal consolation, and a more deeply-awing sense of responsibility to man, springing from sympathy with that which of all things is most certainly known to us, the difficulty of the human lot. I do not find my temple in Pantheism, which, whatever might be its value speculatively, could not yield a practical religion, since it is an attempt to look at the universe from the outside of our relations to it (that universe) as human beings. As healthy, sane human beings we must love and hate —love what is good for mankind, hate what is evil for mankind. For years of my youth I dwelt in dreams of a pantheistic sort, falsely supposing that I was enlarging my sympathy. But I have traveled far away from that time.

In subsequent letters Eliot tacitly ignored Harriet's religious enthusiasm, refusing to take issue with her, for obviously their mutual break with the Evangelicism of their adolescence had rent the veils of their temples in radically different ways. Instead, she chose to divert all such questions into a tangential and safer stream of inquiry—spiritualism.

Harriet's keen interest in the hereafter naturally piqued her curiosity about what exactly lies behind the veil. Without question she was convinced of psychic phenomena, though for her they never supplanted the Trinity: "As I am a believer in the Bible and Christianity I don't need these things as confirmations, and they are not likely to be a religion to me—I regard them simply as I do the phenomena of the Aurora Borealis or Darwin's studies on natural selection as curious studies into nature. Besides I think some day we shall find a law by which all these facts will fall into their right places," she writes to Eliot in her letter of February 8, 1872. Harriet shared this temper with some of the leading public figures of her time—including Elizabeth Barrett Browning—but more importantly with Calvin himself.

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Calvin Stowe candidly acknowledged to friends and strangers alike his transactions with the spirit world. In a pamphlet written soon after his marriage, he describes his visions since early childhood—visions that were peopled with a large Indian woman, six-inch fairies which danced on the windowsill, a figure named Harvey, etc. These visions continued throughout his life, ranging from a psychic conversation with Goethe to challenging visits from the devil.[14] The family accepted Calvin's mediumism with equanimity and support. As mentioned, Harriet wrote openly of it as early as her second letter to Eliot on May 25, 1869, in her discussion of *Old Town Folks*. Calvin too wrote to Eliot of his experiences, though he was ready to admit to "serious doubts as to the objectivity of the scenes exhibited."

Eliot's response to the Stowes was once again a mixture of courtesy and candor. On July 11, 1869 she writes that she has received both letters, that she and Lewes are "deeply interested in the indications which the Professor gives of his peculiar psychological experience," that she is eager to learn more about it from such a distinguished mind, but, "so far as 'spiritualism' (by which I mean, of course spirit-communication by rapping, guidance of the pencil etc.) has come within reach of my judgment on our side of the water, it has appeared to me either as degrading folly, imbecile in the estimate of evidence, or else as impudent imposture." Nonetheless, in deference to her friendship with Stowe, and moved by Stowe's assertions that America's current interest in communication with the dead was a direct outgrowth of the tremendous grieving over the Civil War victims, (a "Rachel-cry of bereavement," Eliot calls it), Eliot agreed to entertain any further thoughts Stowe might care to share.

And share she does. Lesser egos might have been dissuaded by "a degrading folly" "imbecile" and "impudent imposture," but Stowe was moved to testimonial; especially since one of her most important visitations was to come from someone they mutually admired, Charlotte Brontë.

In her first discussion of spiritualism, in her second letter (May 25, 1969), Stowe tells of an acquaintance of hers, "a cool headed clear minded woman" who contacted (was contacted by?) Brontë through a Planchette. Though the woman had never read of Brontë, the Planchette in her hands "writes in most perfect familiarity with every incident of her life," writes poems in the Brontë childrens' style and even writes in idiomatic French, though the medium had only passing knowledge of the language. Stowe was credulously impressed—and

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her suspension of disbelief was rewarded with a Brontëan visit of her own.

Harriet's extraordinary account of her encounter with Charlotte Brontë's spirit comes in her May 11, 1872 letter. Both of her contemporary biographers, C. E. Stowe and Annie Fields, print major parts of this same letter but omit without ellipsis or comment the long section devoted to Brontë—perhaps attempting to protect the public credibility of a mother and friend.[15] The circumstances of the communion Harriet frankly relates: she had met a medium who, though relatively unfamiliar with and mostly unsympathetic to Brontë's work, had nonetheless been visited by Brontë's spirit. The woman was reluctant to pursue spiritualism, fearing the results, but Harriet asked her to "sit along with me and investigate this matter." Stowe goes on:

> I adopted this theory. The only way to make a really philosophic experiment is to put yourself in the exact condition of mind demanded by the investigation. I have a happy faculty of being able to assume a truth and act in the state of mind resulting from such assumption. I assumed that I was talking with Charlotte Bronte and the conversation lasted two hours I asking questions, the planchette replying on paper. The conversation thus brought out I copied and still preserve. It is a most singular piece of literature.

Unfortunately, it is, as far as we know, a non-existent piece of literature, but Stowe does summarize it for Eliot, saying that Charlotte wrote through the Planchette in a conversational style typical of what Harriet knew of her through Mrs. Gaskell: "Careful, keen, witty, wise, pensive, with a profound sense of a past life of suffering. . . ." And though Charlotte refused to answer some of Harriet's questions, she did give a "striking analysis" of the character of her sister Emily (Stowe, however, does not elaborate). Charlotte continued during the two hours to give intimate details of her life, all of which proved to be accurate when Harriet later checked them against her copy of Gaskell's *The Life*, and to relate details of the "state where she was sojourning—its laws—modes of being—employments." And how was the life there? "Peace—Calm—improvement;" past mistakes have been corrected. She admits to being not in heaven but in its "antechamber" and still has an extreme sensitiveness to certain forms of criticism which had been passed on her work: " 'they called it coarse' she said—it was the deepest expression of wounded feelings."

Thus Stowe found a Brontë whose message was sympathetic to her

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own sense of things; a powerful, just hereafter; a detailed memory of those yet in the dark; a harbored resentment of harsh critics; a personality that remains intact even after death. Stowe believed that she had truly communicated with the artist—but even she was not without her skepticism:

> Do I then believe I have had a true look into the beyond? As to that I am by no means certain. That spirits unseen have communicated with me I cannot doubt. That they are those they profess to be more doubtful. That they tell the truth more doubtful still. But I have learned enough to look with care on every further fact that comes up—enough not to despise as visionary those who have seen more, enough to wait and hope for some dearer light.

George Eliot's response (24 June 1872) is not so tolerant. With a tone reminiscent of her sardonic treatment of Dorothea's renunciation of her mother's jewels, she writes to Harriet:

> *Your* experience with the *planchette* is amazing; but that the words which you found it to have written were dictated by the spirit of Charlotte Brontë is to me (whether rightly or not) so enormously improbable, that I could only accept it if every condition were laid bare and every other explanation demonstrated to be impossible. If it were another spirit aping Charlotte Brontë—if here and there at rare spots and among people of a certain temperament or even at many spots and among people of all temperaments tricksy spirits are liable to arise as a sort of earth-bubbles and set furniture in movement, and tell things which we either know already or should be as well without knowing—I must frankly confess that I have but a feeble interest in these doings, feeling my life very short for the supreme and awful revelations of a more orderly and intelligible kind which I shall die with an imperfect knowledge of. If there were miserable spirits whom we could help—then I think we should pause and have patience with their trivial-mindedness; but otherwise I don't feel bound to study them more than I am bound to study the special follies of a particular phase of human society.

Twice in this letter Eliot assures Stowe that she does not mean to be hurtfully critical—just as Stowe had diluted her own unceasing defense of planchetting with complimentary remarks about *Middlemarch.* The matter remained a stalemate, though Stowe compulsively continued the subject in subsequent letters. Ultimately, she justified her investigations of the topic on the ground that her experience enabled her to give comfort to all the hundreds of grieving who wrote to her. She herself, she assures Eliot, will never try to contact her own loved ones, for "my God is my ever present medium of communica-

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tion with the unseen" (April 20, 1873). Later she was to see spiritualism as a growing menace, for it took people away from the church even while it was such an unknown science that it was dangerous to meddle with. Eliot too chose not to meddle, but for different reasons.

If Stowe was somewhat defensive about spiritualism, she regained her advantage when writing of a more corporeal part of her life, her family. When discussing children, Eliot felt decidedly inferior to Stowe's experience. In her first letter, Eliot is deferential—not surprisingly, given the nineteenth-century cult of motherhood, but discon certingly, given her own generous spirit and close affection for Lewes' children. She credits Stowe with "fuller experience as a woman, since you have borne children and known the mother's history from the beginning" (May 8, 1869). Stowe responds with insightful generosity:

> You are not a mother *in fact* perhaps because so much and peculiarly *mother in heart* and *nature* that your Father in casting your lot left the actual out of your experience.
>
> Don't give a sigh to it—you are spared the "sword that pierced through the soul of Mary" and few mothers escape that (May 25, 1869).

Her biblical reference takes its poignancy from Harriet's having already lost two children, one as an infant victim of cholera, another drowned while a college student. She was also to outlive two others: Fred, an alcoholic who ultimately disappeared on a sea voyage, and Georgiana who died from a nervous illness and an unwitting addiction to opium. Eliot, with no children of her own, lovingly adopted Lewes'. She too was to share the grief of Mary, but she still granted Harriet the greater pain. She writes on December 10, 1869:

> Our dear son, whose illness I wrote to you, died on the 19th of October. He never completely recovered the use of his lower limbs after an attack of paraplegia in August, but we had the comfort of seeing that the crisis marked a decided diminution of suffering.
>
> Death had never come near to me through the twenty years since I lost my Father, and this parting has entered very deeply into me. I never before felt so keenly the wealth one possesses in every being to whose mind and body it is possible to minister comfort through love and care. But your experience of this kind has been much greater than mine.

Again, Stowe eventually answers, reiterating her conviction of the value of George Eliot's vicarious experience: "I know you have a love of little children: indeed your child's heads and child's ways are some of your sweetest passages" (September 23, 1873).

On the topic of husbands, however, where Eliot might have an even

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more realistic cause for uncertainty because of the social disapproval of her illegal union with Lewes, there is no such gulf. Moralist though she always was, Stowe ignores the unusual circumstances of Eliot's life, accepting her, as George Eliot required of her friends, as "married." And indeed, except for legality, their circumstances were strikingly similar: both women were famous writers married to intellectual, less famous men; both suffered through their spouses' procrastination; both tolerated their husbands' eccentricities (and their men returned the compliment); both submitted to the confinement their husbands' personalities and infirmities imposed (Calvin could not travel to Europe; George Eliot got very tired of reading to Lewes three hours every day and felt guilty when she did not help him edit his work). Moreover, though Eliot did balk at Stowe's analogy of Lewes and Calvin to Casaubon, there was a modicum of truth in the comparisons. Harriet and Calvin, to be sure, were very different in temperament. He had already cogently summarized this disparity in a letter he wrote to Harriet on September 23, 1844:

> 1. I am naturally anxious, to the extent of needlessly taking much thought before hand. You are hopeful, to the extent of being heedless of the future, thinking only of the present. . . .
>
> 2. I am naturally very methodical as to time and place for everything, and anything out of time or out of place is excessively annoying to me. This is the feeling to which you are a stranger. You have no idea of either time or place. . . .
>
> 3. I am naturally particular, you are naturally slack—and you often give me inexpressible torment without knowing it. . . .
>
> 4. I am naturally very irritable, take offense easily, utter my vexation in a moment, and then it is gone—you are naturally more forebearing, take offense less easily, and are silent and retain the wound. . . .[16]

Calvin soon softened some of his thoughts but the sentiment remained. The differences expressed, however, while accurate, were grounds for compromise rather than acrimony, and Harriet was candid about both her frustrations with Calvin and her love for him. She tells Eliot in her letter of September 23, 1872:

> He imported tons of books—he read he lectured he fired me into a flame of eagerness he prepared and prepared and prepared but his ideal grew and he *never* came to the time of completion—and now alas—never will. Still he goes on reading studying investigating subject after subject apparently for no object but to entertain me when I try to make him write the books he ought to be he is *never ready*—and I believe I sometimes make myself a sort of troublesome outside conscience to him by trying to push him up to do what he has been so long getting ready to

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do—So you see I sympathize with poor Dorothea but then her husband is too much of a stick!

Calvin, noted for his intellect, humor, and affection, was not a stick. When he was in poor health and Harriet feared she would lose him, she quickly recanted her Casaubon thoughts, admitting to Eliot: "There he is on all subjects my teacher, my medium of conversation with the great world of thought—I cannot imagine how I could live without him to tell me what I want to know. . . . Up to this time, I, like Dorothea with her husband have been a sort of uneasy conscience, urging him constantly to make some use of his great acquirements for the public. . . . I no longer argue anything—all I ask now is that he live to talk to me and Charley—(April 20, 1873). These expressed fears for Calvin lay dormant in Eliot's mind, to be recalled in strikingly similar language by Lewes' death. Eliot writes to Stowe on the 10th of April 1879:

> While He was here I never had to ask whether my continuing in life was of any use.
>
> And a few weeks I shall be going to our Country Home which he enjoyed more and more keenly. It is doubtful to me now whether I can bear to be there without him. For 24 years we had been used to look at everything together, and the best part of all things to me was the sense that they entered into his happy life. Even his sadly delicate health could not subdue his cheerfulness and eager activity, and the daily assurance of his happiness was my strength—my fountain of contentment.

Surprisingly, Harriet waited over a year to answer, starting her last letter to Eliot with: "It is so long since I have written you but your last letter was so deeply and hopelessly sad that I felt a sort of despair—It is because I *know* so much of the real nature of sorrow—and how empty all words often seem spoken from without to the stricken suffering heart—but I delayed from time to time" (May 6, 1880). The excuse seems a feeble one, but such tolerance for foibles, both their own and those of others was a mark of the friendship. This is especially evident in two lurid instances in Harriet's life—her defense of Lady Byron and of her brother Henry.

The story of Harriet's support of Lady Byron is both familiar and painful. After writing the book that literally moved the country toward war, Harriet wrote the article that literarily came close to doing the same thing. The warmth of her friendship for Eliot, whom she never met, is prophetic of the depth of her feelings for a woman whom she not only admired but knew intimately through long hours of solemn conversation. In 1856, during such a confidential winter afternoon,

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Lady Byron revealed to Harriet that she believed Lord Byron guilty of incest. Shocked though she was, Harriet kept her secret until Byron's mistress, Countess Guiccioli, published in 1868 her reminiscences of Byron, memories that were decidedly unfavorable to Byron's "princess of parallelograms." Though Lady Byron had died in 1860, her wounded reputation gave Harriet a heavenly hurt (one wonders if Stowe's belief in spiritualism was a factor here); she published in the *Atlantic Monthly* of September 1869, with no more proof other than Lady Byron's word, what had heretofore only been rumor among the cognoscenti. The storm was swift, brutal, and permanently damaged Harriet's credibility. Stowe was proud enough of the article to send Eliot a copy, and she died believing in the virtue of her defense. Others were not so sure. Calvin, her sons, her editor, and friends had all advised against publication. George Eliot shared their judgment, but, like them, remained loyal, and, given her own experience with yellow journalism in private matters, even empathized with Harriet in her public pillorying:

> In the midst of our trouble I was often thinking of you, for I feared that you were undergoing considerable trial from harsh and unfair judgments. . . . For my own part I should have preferred that the "Byron question" should not have been brought before the public, because I think the discussion of such subjects is injurious socially. But with regard to yourself, dear friend, I have felt sure that in acting on a different basis of impressions, you were impelled by pure, generous feeling. Do not think that I would have written to you on this point to express a judgment; I am anxious only to convey to you a sense of my sympathy and confidence, such as a kiss and a pressure of the hand would give, if I were near such as you" (10 December 1869).

There the matter rested—between the two friends at least.

The second public scandal in Stowe's life receives more attention in the correspondence, possibly because Harriet felt more vulnerable, but certainly no less virtuous. The Beechers seemed destined to make nineteenth-century news, for just as the Byron outcry had died to a whimper, Victoria Woodhull decided to vent her own fit of morality and publish her charges that Henry Ward Beecher—the most famous and flamboyant preacher of his time—was guilty of adultery with one of his congregation, Elizabeth Tilton. The truth of Woodhull's exposé remains unresolved, critical opinion largely deciding to finesse the matter: Wagenknecht declaredly refuses to draw a conclusion but favors the civil and ecclesiastical investigations that found for Beecher; Forrest Wilson concurs. Though the scandal itself and its effects

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upon Harriet are part of her life-story, it is not incumbent upon her biographer to enter any opinion on Henry's guilt or innocence. However, it is only fair to state that of the civil jury which disagreed, nine members voted for Henry's innocence while three held out to the end for his guilt."[17] The nine-to-three vote might seem convincing, but unfortunately the case was more complex. Beecher's own reluctance to counter the charges, as well as hints that the jury was rigged in his favor, keep the question an open and intriguing one.

But though history doubts, Harriet did not. As Wilson and Wagenknecht note, she wrote extensively of her defense to George Eliot, first in her letter of August 20, 1874, the day Theodore Tilton swore out the formal complaint against Beecher. Harriet eases smoothly into the topic, moving from an explanation of Calvin's theology to one of Henry's, praising him for his advanced thinking, especially his support of Darwin. She then goes on to say that Henry's remarkable preaching has made him the object of "an attack of peculiar atrocity designed to destroy him and his life's work together. Dear Mrs. Fields wrote you perhaps of the outrage on him and on us all—and since it has come to be as really a national event as the assassination of Lincoln I send you the history of the whole in his own words given before the Committee of Inquiry which at his request took cognizance of the whole slander." There follows a character sketch of three of the six men who tried Henry—"a merchant prince whose income is counted by millions," "the States Attorney of New York," and "a man distinguished as a benefactor of colleges"—and then a long list of Henry's accomplishments as a reformist pastor. Next is a denunciation of Tilton, telling Eliot that he has long been compared in family letters to "Tito" "Romola's false husband." This description is contrasted by a romanticized discussion of Henry: "my brother's weak point is romantic generosity—exaggerated ideas of the self-sacrifice required of a pastor." She closes the letter by linking Henry's plight with her previous crucifixion: "That you love me as I love you and are a true friend I remember by the kiss you once sent me when the world was [unreadable] against me." Unfortunately, the press was drawing the same analogy negatively, by pointing out that Harriet was quick to condemn Byron on weak evidence while supporting her brother's equally tenuous protests of innocence. Harriet dismisses this criticism as that of small or evil minds once again victimizing the Beechers.

Harriet's letter crossed in the mail one from George Eliot (August 23, 1874) in which Eliot offers cautious support and asks for details.[18] Having already supplied them, and undoubtedly under great stress, Harriet did not resume the correspondence for two years, though Eliot

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had in her letter of November 11, 1874 avoided the question of Henry's guilt by optimistically focusing her thoughts on Harriet: "Those unspeakable troubles in which I necessarily felt more for *you* than for anyone else concerned, are I trust, well at an end and you are enjoying a time of peace." When the peace did at last return and Harriet was reminded of her friend by the serialization of *Daniel Deronda*, she took up the subject once again, canonizing Henry in a nostalgic reminiscence of their childhood, his subsequent dedication to the anti-slavery movement, his prescient recognition of the power of her writing talent to aid the cause, his progressive theology, his reformist zeal for women's rights and his phenomenal popularity which made him the object of Judas-like jealousy: "I cannot give you any ideas of the love, worship, idolatry with which he has been overwhelmed. He has something magnetic about him that makes everybody crave his society —that makes men follow and worship him." The letter continues in this tone, first summarizing the practical indignities of the trial: $18,000 costs for Beecher, a $10,000 bribe supposedly offered by the opposition to the foreman of the jury, a second trial . . . the list goes on —assuring Eliot that above all "there has been no circumstance of his relation to any woman that has not been worthy of himself—pure delicate and proper—and I know all sides of it." The section is a long one. Its entire temper can be summarized with "I can read my New Testament and feel that by all the beatitudes my brother is blessed." As Stowe's biographers have noted, no brother could have had a more ecstatic, and less rational, admirer. But the admiration was not without enormous personal and familial costs: Harriet's support of Henry, and her sister Isabella's rejection of him, irrevocably split the family.

Isabella Beecher Hooker is and has been a study in herself. More than slightly mad, she was convinced she was called by God to become Christ's Vice Regent in a matriarchal government, and she was totally mesmerized, drawn in first by their shared interest in spiritualism, by Victoria Woodhull, and her sister, Tennessee Claflin. Since it was Woodhull who exposed Henry, and because both women were notorious feminists, Harriet's own support of women's rights was put to a severe test, one which, by current standards, many say she failed. Dorothy Berkson, in her excellent article, "Millennial Politics and the Feminine Fiction of Harriet Beecher Stowe," has cogently defined Harriet's stance.[19] In brief, Berkson argues that Harriet early in her career was a strong advocate of women's rights and well aware of the disjunction of "American democratic idealism and social reality." In her New England novels, a matriarchy is the ideal form of a millennial society. However, as the woman question became more radical and its

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advocates more strident, Harriet became more ambiguous. When Woodhull and Claflin began advocating divorce, free love and spiritualism, and attacking Christianity, domestic virtue, and Henry, Harriet was shocked out of her previous liberalism. In *My Wife and I* (1871) she parodies the radical feminists (Woodhull in the character of Miss Audacia Dangyereyes, Elizabeth Stanton in Stella Cerulean), defends traditional feminine virtues, and reveals the personal ambiguity and uncertainty that ultimately became the banality of the Cult of True Womanhood—the New Woman lost.

George Eliot shared Harriet's developing conservatism, believing as she did that women are more spiritual than men and that they risk losing some of this spirituality if they subject themselves to the rigors of the real world. In their correspondence Harriet discusses her political feminism in detail only once, in her May 25, 1869 letter. The content, which has received some critical attention, includes Stowe's famous statement about being busy with the next great emancipation, that of women, and voices her hope that Connecticut will repeal the antiquated marriage property laws and pass amendments drafted by her brother-in-law, John Hooker. Eliot was not so pro-suffrage, being unable to embrace Harriet's easy justification proposed in her 1868 essay in *Hearth and Home* that enfranchising women would have moral advantages, and avoids the political issue entirely in her reply. Stowe did not address the question again until it became a minor part of her defense of Henry. Obviously, on this issue Harriet preferred to make public rather than private statements—or to say nothing at all.

When explaining femaleness, however, both women were much more candid, agreeing as they did on the superiority of women. The sense of being a "woman" creates a special bond, and both quite clearly admit that were either of them male, the correspondence, if it existed at all, would be decidedly different. In her first letter Harriet assures Eliot "That there are things about us that no man can know and consequently no man can write." This theme continues throughout their correspondence: only a woman could have imagined "Hetty's self-admiration before her mirror" (May 25, 1869); and some years later (March 18, 1876), when thanking Eliot for her kind words about Henry, she describes Eliot's letter as "womanly tender and sweet as at heart you are—After all, my love of you is greater than my admiration —for I think it more and better to be really a woman worth loving than to have read Greek and German and written books."

Stowe's sense of bonding with Eliot, however, rests on something more profound than gender: Harriet actually believed herself spiritually tied to Eliot—and she expresses her love for Eliot in the startlingly

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intimate hyperbole of many nineteenth-century female correspondents.[20] In her May 25, 1869 letter, for example, she says "I love you—and I talk to you sometimes when I am quite alone so earnestly that I should think you must know it even across an ocean." Or on August 3, 1869: "I felt my heart so drawn to you last Sunday in the communion services of the church, that it seemed as if my heart bore you and your trials to the Infinite Love . . ."; or April 20, 1873: "Why do I love you, you once asked. Because you are altogether lovely for one reason—and because as Adam Bede said God gave me this love." She ends this letter with "I am sorry I shall never see you—Since you cannot come we cannot meet until we meet on the other side. My faith is firm that you and I shall see the All Beautiful together and rejoice in His love. . . ."

There is no question, then, that though they never met here, Stowe considered Eliot to be one of her closest companions—an inspiration for her heart, her mind, and her pen. Stowe's closings to Eliot best chart the depth of feeling: the first letter ends "Ever yours, H. B. Stowe;" then "your affectionate friend and affectionately your friend" for two letters, before she closed with "it can do you no harm to know that I still think of you and love you as ever, Faithfully yours, H. B. Stowe." "Ever lovingly Yours" is followed by "Goodbye my darling—Ever your true love (September 23, 1872)," and "Your Ever loving," a postscript used for the next two then "With a kiss of live adieu, Yours ever H.B.S." (August 20, 1874); the final letter closes, "God bless you my dear friend. Yours ever loving H. B. Stowe."

Eliot responded with the reserve typical of her nationality and personality, ranging from "Yours always," "Yours with affection," "Yours with sincere affection and gratitude," to "Yours with love" (6th of May 1876), and in her last letter, "Believe me dear Friend, Yours always gratefully, M. E. Lewes" (10th of April 1879). She, too, welcomed the friendship of a woman who could share if not her intellectual concerns, her being an author, and female, and vulnerably public. Stowe, Eliot appreciated, was far above the silly women novelists writing silly women's novels. Eliot, Stowe recognized, was one of the intellectuals of the age who was nonethless receptive to the overtures their common gender and fame allowed. Their correspondence was not voluminous or volatile—but it reveals much about two remarkable literary women who helped define the parameters of the female tradition by writing warmly of family and feminism, of their work and worries, of the secular and spiritual. It is an excellent testimonial to the mutual support of nineteenth-century women writers as they wrote a literature of their own.

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NOTES

1. One study has been done on the literary relationship between Eliot and Stowe, Kenny Marotta's "The Literary Relationship of George Eliot and Harriet Beecher Stowe," an unpublished dissertation for John Hopkins University, 1974. Marotta argues that the source of common impulse in these writers is in the realm of intellectual history. The correspondence is mentioned only tangentially.
2. Gordon Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 413.
3. Professor E. Bruce Kirkman is currently editing the letters. I am indebted to Prof. Kirkman for sharing his transcriptions so that I might verify my own.
4. Annie Fields, ed., *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1970), p. 172.
5. Gordon Haight, *The George Eliot Letters* (New Haven: Yale University Press), II, 92. The Eliot letters cited in this paper can all be found in this seven-volume edition.
6. Forrest Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1941), p. 374.
7. Haight, *George Eliot,* p. 269.
8. The fourteenth letter, dated November 2, 1878, she included in an edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* she sent to Eliot. It was sold at Sotheby's 27 June 1923, item 561. See Haight's edition of the *Letters,* VII, p. 132.
9. Wilson, p. 113.
10. *Middlemarch* appeared in *Harper's Weekly* from 16 December 1871 to 15 February 1873.
11. Harriet dates this letter 1831. Internal evidence, such as a reference to her only grandchild, Georgianna's son, indicates that the correct date is 1873. The 1873 date will be used in this text.
12. As Ellen Moers points out, this comment from Eliot's letter is often reprinted as a prefatory statement to the novel. See her *Literary Women* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 58–59.
13. Edward Wagenknecht, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: The Known and the Unknown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 187.
14. *Ibid.,* pp. 46–47.
15. See Fields, pp. 338–340, and C. E. Stowe, *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1889) pp. 468–470.
16. Wagenknecht, pp. 52–53.
17. *Ibid.,* pp. 37–44; Wilson, p. 594.
18. Wilson notes, p. 589, that Stowe did not answer Eliot's letter for two years. He fails to note that Stowe had already answered Eliot's queries.
19. This essay appears in Elizabeth Ammons, ed., *Critical Essays on Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980), pp. 244–258.
20. For an analysis of these friendships, and the epistolary style that was a part of them, see Caroll Smith Rosenberg's excellent article, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs,* I (Autumn 1975), 1–29.

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Reviews

PAUL JOHN EAKIN, *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-Invention.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985. 224 pp. $12.95.

As its subtitle suggests, this is a series of close readings of several modern autobiographies—those of Mary McCarthy, Henry James and Jean-Paul Sartre receiving full-chapter attention, those of the historian Saul Friedländer and Maxine Hong Kingston having section-length space within a chapter that devotes attention to Helen Keller, Alfred Kazin and Frank Conroy as well. The chapter-length studies are, on the whole, unimpeachable. Mr. Eakin has devoted himself to grasping these works in the context of the autobiographer's life-situation at the time of writing, and has done useful biographical research on that crucial part of the autobiographer's life. His efforts to shift critical attention from the purported representation of the past to the rhetorical construction of a text in the authorial present are greatly to be welcomed, in line with the current trend to see autobiography not simply as a mimetic mirror but as an imaginative lamp—not bound by historical norms of truth-telling but open to concepts of self-manifestation and symbolic embodiment of truth.

The opening chapter carefully surveys the publishing history of the separate sketches that make up *Memories of a Catholic Girlhood* and succeeds in conveying a sense of the ongoing methodological questioning that goes into—that *is*—the writing of this autobiography. McCarthy encourages such a view of autobiography as a trial-and-error process whose end is not a discovery but a construction of the self. The implications of this particular case for autobiography at large, while not dogmatically pressed by the critic, seem germane to many another work—even where much less is known of their making and of the author's views on the enterprise.

A similar analysis—volume by volume—of James's autobiography indicates an extended drama of self-confrontation—to use James's phrase for Conrad, "a prolonged hovering flight of the subjective over the outstretched ground of the case exposed." Mr. Eakin's interpretation of James's famous "obscure hurt" is not likely to settle the matter, but it marks an advance on both Leon Edel's demystifying view (not a genital wound but a back problem)and his psychological view (James identified with his

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father, who lost a leg in a similar fire). Eakin's thesis is that James wasn't obscuring his injury and covering up for his non-combatancy in the Civil War; "In fact, James makes his 'non-participation' in the war and, by extension, in 'life,' the major theme of his narrative. . . . James goes out of his way to underline the distortions that Edel is concerned to document . . ." (p. 104).

For Sartre's *Les Mots* (the study focuses on the English translation, but Mr. Eakin seems at home in the original text and in French commentary upon it), the extreme limitations of the narrative—boyhood experience as it made him a writer—become an occasion for raising historical questions about autobiography. Eakin puts Sartre's *ex post facto* interviews on his motives and intentions to good use in shifting attention to the making of a work in preference to the recording of a past. On this evidence he frames a striking interpretation: "In *The Words* Sartre presents both his early decision to write and his recent decision to write his autobiography as the beginning and ending phases of a neurosis" (p. 129). Thus "the plot of Sartre's autobiographical narrative mirrors the autobiographical act that creates it" (p. 127), rather than mirroring the putative past. We may wish to turn the sentence around and consider the autobiographical act as constructing a narrative mirror to reflect both itself and its past, but there's likely to be no final formulation in these matters. Eakin cites Peter Brooks and other narratologists on the historical emergence of such proceedings, and his incremental studies seem on the verge of reaching a summary statement about modern autobiography in the concluding chapter. But at this point, both history and theory fall short.

Mr. Eakin goes on to cite Georges Gusdorf and other proponents of the idea that autobiography (defined as "*autobiography* in the modern sense of the term," p. 201) emerged with the rise of modern self-consciousness. The tautological basis of this line of thought is all too apparent and it begins to crystallize the book's serious shortcomings as a general statement. Eakin now develops an unhistorical, quasi-biological theory of autobiography, previously hinted at but laid aside in analysis. It is a psychological and linguistic theory of some ingenuity, but little data of either a psychological or a linguistic kind is offered in its support. In this theory, autobiographies are self-discoveries because they re-enact the childhood stage of self-discovery that proceeds in tandem with the acquisition of language. My phrasing is deliberately vague in order to indicate the ambiguities opened by Eakin's account; it is never clear whether self-emergence precedes or follows, causes or is caused by, is necessary for or identical to language acquisition. Clearly, both are extended developments that take place over many years, but Eakin favors more dramatic moments of initial awareness, both of self and speech (which one phenomenologist labels "I-am-me experiences" (p. 217). This myth—for it is a myth as surely as Lacan's "mirror stage" of the child's self-discovery in the mirror—Eakin calls "the moment of language," and he illustrates it with the classic, but obviously extra-ordinary, case of Helen Keller, discovering herself when she grasped the word written into the palm of her hand. Other illustrations from Kazin and Conroy fail to turn up an originary "moment of language" or even an "I-am-me experience" (the excerpt from *A Walker in the City* on p. 228 fails to convince me that that's what it is). More extended discussions of Friedländer and Kingston show only the importance of language in later stages of personal relations, self-possession or autobiography-writing.

No one would dispute the importance of language in personal development, self-awareness and autobiographical writing, and Mr. Eakin's focus on the writer's acces-

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sion to narrational competency in a number of autobiographies is much to be welcomed. But it is an approach that seems to tempt the critic—witness Eakin's master, James Olney—to move from an experiential and operational view of self-articulation through language ("The self expresses itself through the metaphors it creates and projects")—with an attendant expression-theory of autobiography and of art in general ("The composite metaphor of the work is a presentational image, or an expression, of the personality of its maker and of the meaning of his life")—to vaguely existential notions of self-emergence through metaphorical self-projection ([the self] "did not exist as it now does as it now is before creating its metaphors"), ending in Jungian visions of self-creation in tune with universal harmonies ("imitations of the prevailing harmony that is the creative principle behind and throughout the universe"). (There is a convenient summary of Olney's positions and their darker side—Paul deMan's view of autobiography's linguistic activity as a deconstruction or "de-facement" of self—on pages 184–191 of this book.)

Mr. Eakin shows the force of this appeal by pushing the metaphoricity of autobiography a step further, beyond the text to the act of writing itself: "In this way, extending James Olney's view, we might speak of the autobiographical enterprise as doubly metaphoric: the autobiographical act, like the text it produces, would be a metaphor of self" (p. 227). Thus Eakin's analysis, which began by focusing on the creative operations of autobiographical writing under the pressures of the writer's present life, ends by raising that symbol-making activity itself into a symbol. And what does it symbolize? Eakin doesn't appeal to the familiar myth of rebirth in or through autobiography; he claims instead that "the autobiographical act functions symbolically as a second acquisition of language" (p. 237). The autobiographer is born again, not as the squalling infant was born, but as the little tyke who recognizes himself by saying "I." An appealing myth, perhaps, but undemonstrated by the literary analyses conducted before or after its espousal. We may be profited by those analyses, for Paul John Eakin is a gifted reader of prose works, but we will come away from his theoretical maneuvering as bemused as ever by the potentiality of autobiography to generate myth.

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Catherine C. Fraser, *Problems in a New Medium: Autobiographies by Three Artists.* American University Series. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Co., 1984. 145 pp. $14.95.

With this book, Catherine Fraser might have been commended for having used little known autobiographies and scrutinizing them with the most current literary methodology reserved for more obvious fictional modes. However, the resulting study fails to make a deft contribution to autobiography as literary genre and remains mostly literal "plot" summaries of the rarely read memoirs.

Fraser takes as her subject matter three life-histories of minor German visual artists who were part of the flourishing of arts in Dresden in the mid-nineteenth century: Ludwig Richter's *Erinnerungen eines deutschen Malers,* Ernst Rietschel's *Jugenderinnerungen,* and Wilhelm von Kügelgen's *Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Mannes.* The basis of comparison is justified because these artists (an illustrator, sculptor, and

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painter, respectively) were all born within a year of each other (1802–1804), were acquainted, lived through the Napoleonic invasion of Dresden, and were exposed to similar cultural influences. Their memoirs, moreover, all cover mainly their boyhoods and the years of apprenticeship. Acknowledging that other comparative studies of these three works have concentrated on the emergent picture of the artistic and historical times, the *Biedermeier* period, Fraser intends to be more literary and "to analyze each autobiography individually for its stylistic merits, to trace influences not just in content, but also in the narrative techniques employed, and simultaneously to address the broader question of the relationship between autobiography and fiction" (p. 2).

However, at this point of her career, Fraser seems to have neither the intellectual acquaintance or the analytic skill to apply complex novelistic strategies: unreliable narrators, metaphors of plot, subliminal wish-fulfillment structures, linguistic signs and motifs. Given her intentions, she never risks declaring that autobiography is a form of fiction, an imaginative construct of the writer to establish or re-enforce a carefully controlled portrait of himself and his life, to create, in literary terminology, a *persona*. (As the American writer Sherwood Anderson avers in his "Memoirs," a man who writes of his past "has something to settle with himself.") Although she devotes a chapter summarizing various aesthetic theories, both German and American, of autobiography, her eventual choice of novelistic devices to focus on are simplistic ones. She uses "fictionalizing" to mean straying from the known literal facts. She compares material in the autobiographies to evidence in dairies or letters such as Kügelgen's account in his memoir of his one meeting of Göethe. Other sources confirm that he met him twice. The use of dialogue in recreating people becomes to Fraser a fictional technique in both senses of the word. Even her attempt to show that like novels, narrative connection between episodes is made by a combination of "showing" events, the exhibiting of the scenes and people, and "telling" the author's or narrator's direct commentary, seems obvious and not plumbed for deeper analysis. Her most successful contribution to form is her undercovering of a recurrent and unifying motif in each autobiography to otherwise isolated events. In Richter's life, she finds most of his recalled experiences hint of his final religious awakening. Rietschel's selection tends to justify the practical compromises he made with his artistic ambitions to overcome his humiliation as a poor laborer's son and to attain the middle-class expectations of middle-class German society. Kügelgen's entirely episodic and seemingly humorous memoir becomes unified when Fraser points out how many of the events he recounts dwell on death, real and imagined. Fraser also notes that *Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Mannes* was one of the most widely read autobiographies in Germany during the nineteenth century but she fails to account for its greater popularity.

Paradoxically, Fraser's strength as a critic lies in content, not form, in her discussion of the human predicaments and conflicts of these amateur writers, not in their stylistic strategies. Yet, even here she stays on the surface as if she never heard the literary dictum of trust the tale, not the teller. She evades the richer emotional significance of the material even when she herself suggests that the text invites a denser interpretation. Unwittingly, she subscribes to the bourgeois imperatives her artists struggle with. She never questions that the mystical Mariolatry Richter seems drawn, although she acknowledges its influence on his artistic decision to illustrate only popular literature and with woodcuts of "idealized middle class family life. . . . ignor[ing] . . . the harsher realities of the times" (p. 46). Might his earlier Lutheran upbringing and his friction with his parents have left him with such fantasized com-

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pensations of affection? When Rietschel follows a description of his father's death with the price of a painting he recently sold, Fraser will not allow the episode to hint at "insensitivity" (p. 72)—or better, the artist's unresolved rage that he has capitulated to the compromising material pressures of his improvident father. When one of Kügelgen's letters to his brother show his early religious mentor, the Pastor Roller, to be cruel and demanding, Fraser praises the milder portrait the once demeaned child gives in his adult memoir: "In light of this [letter,] it is to Kugelgen's credit that the only scenes in which Roller is shown as being vaguely harsh towards a child involve Wilhelm himself. The boy longed to stop work at mealtimes but was obliged to finish first whatever domestic task he was doing. Since the reader is usually encouraged to laugh at, or even censure, Wilhelm's childish priorities, any possible criticism of Roller is softened here" (p. 105).

Fraser's lengthly attempt to show Göethe's influences, especially his memoir *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and his highly autobiographical novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre,* on these minor autobiographers diminishes both the great works of this literary giant and the heartfelt attempts of these amateur writers. Fraser finds echoes in a few scenes: in similar trips abroad of artistic discovery, and in the general intention to record the trials and set-backs of each of these men in their early years as artists. But the flaw here is that the extreme discrepancies in talent and experience belie any comparison. Göethe, both in his life and writings, epitomized and invented the highly self-conscious, self dramatizing, rebellious anti-bourgeois artist—the penultimate Romantic ego. These minor visual artists are at best almost the counterforce, the next generation to such *Sturm und Drang,* and exhibit in their stabler private lives and more limited art characteristics of German Victorianism, the *Biedermeier* period, with its espousal of social and domestic integration.

Where this study most tantalizes is in what it omits. Such minor autobiographies frequently prove most interesting as sociological documents of their time and greater culture. Had Fraser used her demonstrated scholarly discipline and knowledge of German culture and looked ahead as well as behind, these self-portraits might have yielded understanding of recurring conflicts in German literature and life as far ahead as Thomas Mann and as near as the last fifty years of German history. For these early memoirs begin to limn the persistent appearance of dominant authority figures, especially fathers and ministers, the rending conflict between the idiosyncratic artistic life and conformities of middle-class acceptance, and the strong attraction of Italy for its emotional release as well as great art in contrast to the highly contained and regulated public exterior demanded of German society. Even her mention that Richter began his religious quest when he first viewed as a child a puppet show of Dr. Faust might have led her to trace this literary motif of guilt of assertion from Göethe through these minor artists, to Mann and the repressive aspects of German culture itself. Fraser does mention indications of incipient German nationalism in these accounts but pursues them no further.

If I have taken much of this study to task, I realize that this book is at best a reworking of a dissertation and thus represents the apprenticeship years of Fraser herself. Now as a member of the German department of Brown University, her journey to professional status with its necessary deference is over. Hopefully, the clear writing and distinct critical interest evidenced throughout this book will lead Fraser to more independent and subtler uncoverings in autobiography and other forms of literature.

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MYRON SHARAF, *Fury on Earth: A Biography of Wilhelm Reich.* New York: St. Martin's Press/Marek, 1983. 550 pp. $24.95.

This book is notable because it is first of all an intellectual biography which, comprehensively and objectively, delineates the evolution of the ideas of Wilhelm Reich: ideas which—although often egregiously misrepresented—have also often exerted a continuing presence and impact. Reich's early concepts about character types and their special forms of resistance and "character armor," and about orgasm and its causation of neurosis and role in maintaining mental health, have become guidelines for many present day psychotherapists and sexologists. His 1933 book, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism,* gave an insightful analysis of some of the psychological factors which caused masses of people to support Hitler. It was a pioneer work in social psychology and sociology which foreshadowed Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* and Theodor Adorno's *The Authoritarian Personality.* Reich's later natural science ideas about orgone energy (which he conceived to be a natural atmospheric force) and the orgone box (where individuals could seek symptomatic relief from medical and psychiatric illnesses), led to ridicule and persecution, and then to Reich's imprisonment in Lewisburg penitentiary, where he died in 1957 at the age of 60. Dr. Sharaf carefully presents the main arguments pro and con orgone energy—stressing that Reich was not seeking "a new synthesis but concepts that generated testable hypothesis"—and the reader is left free to form his own conclusion. From what has been presented it seems evident that, because the orgone concept still remains largely untested, no conclusion about its validity can be reached.

Fury on Earth is also an intimate biography: notable because of Dr. Sharaf's biographical attitudes and talents; and because of his passionate, yet shifting and multifaceted relationship to his subject. He knew Reich for most of the last 13 years of the latter's life, had therapy with Reich, and came to meet (and later interview) many individuals who had worked with and known Reich. He was then able to form a fresh, "outsider's," view of Reich by undergoing a non-Reichian psychoanalysis, completing professional training in dynamic psychology and psychotherapy, and reading in general literature: he often illuminates his biography by citing vivid quotations from Nietzsche, Auden, James Agee, Conrad Aiken, Alfred Kazin, George Orwell, Leon Edel, and George Steiner. A minor shortcoming is that he does not attempt a deep analysis of Reich's literary style, either in German or in English (which Reich became fluent in). And he does not have quotations from scientists or biographies of scientists (he acknowledges that his "competence for evaluating" Reich's natural science work is "not as advanced as it is for dealing with his psychiatric and sociological work").

Two attitudes that he brings to his work are a sense of being energised and invigorated by knowing about aspects of Reich's intimate life, and a need to maintain "the right kind of distance" from this life. To illustrate these attitudes he quotes (at the beginning and then again at the end of his book) from George Steiner: "The inner lives of Shakespeare and Michelangelo are our heritage; *we feed our smaller sensibilities on their donations and excess* [Sharaf's italics]. There can be no other thanks than extreme precision, than the patient, provisional, always inadequate attempt to get each case right, to map its commanding wealth."

Dr. Sharaf's talents as a biographer are that he can be descriptive, analytical, and dramatic. He early observes that Reich was a person of considerable "duality"—an "extraordinary mixture of greatness, pettiness, and vindictiveness." Reich's greatness was his need for a vigorous, committed, and heroic life; his capacity for elaborating

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new ideas and then for sustained hard work—work was his "steady drumbeat." When events were against him, he had "a talent for finding good news in the bad" and going on with his work. He was a charismatic speaker, attracted friends and supporters, and he loved, and was loved by, many women. He also broke with, and turned on, many of his intimates; and was capable of bursts of "towering rage" when he would become "all harshness." And he could be suspicious, paranoid, grandiose, and megalomanic (at the end of his life he imagined sympathisers in high places, and he thought that U.S. Air Force planes were flying overhead to protect him). In reading Dr. Sharaf's portrait of Reich one is reminded of Lionel Trilling's account of the Roman historian Tacitus's portrait of the Emperor Tiberius: "Tacitus sets about creating the wonderful figure of Tiberius and, using a hundred uncertainties and contradictions, tries to solve this great enigma of a man, yet always avoids the solution because the enigma is the character."

Dr. Sharaf's capacity for analytic insight is shown in several ways. His careful reading of Reich's first publication, "The Breakthrough of the Incest Taboo in Puberty," enables him to uncover a family tragedy. Reich's mother had sex with her son's tutor (a scene witnessed by the 12 year old son). She was discovered and cruelly berated by her husband, and then painfully killed herself. Her husband then suicided by deliberately contracting pneumonia. Reich was an orphan by the age of 17. It is postulated that this tragedy "increased Reich's sense of guilt, and his tendency to look inward, to ponder the deeper meaning of things, particularly emotional relationships." It may have brought on his skin condition, diagnosed as psoriasis (more could have been said about how Reich reacted to the effects of his skin condition). It is further postulated that when, in his later years, Reich was bullying and cruel to his intimates, he was unconsciously identifying with his cruel father. It is also shown how Reich was influenced by reaching a particular age—what Dr. Daniel Levinson has described as "the seasons of a man's life." As he neared 30 Reich began to reappraise his previous psychoanalytic work and his marriage. At the age of 42, as Reich moved from Europe to America and began a new marriage and a new course of work, he entered the stage which Levinson has called "becoming one's own man."

Dr. Sharaf has a sense of the dramatic—and frequently sad—quality of Reich's interactions with individuals, especially with the women he loved. The woman that he most loved was Elsa Lindenberg. Yet she did not share his interest in his work. After several years of living with Elsa, Reich—with great anguish—left her, so that he could continue with his work, alone. Dr. Sharaf recounts how he interviewed Elsa during the late 1970s, when "she was seventy years old, strikingly attractive and vivacious," and how Elsa: "spoke of Reich with a mixture of tenderness, passion, humor, and criticalness that revealed a deep, genuine, and unsentimental love. No other woman whom I interviewed talked about Reich with that same kind of love . . . After Reich, Elsa never had another serious relationship with a man, although she was only in her early thirties when they parted."

Dr. Sharaf concludes his account of Reich and Elsa with a poignant overview of his subject: "Yet another irony emerges in Reich's life. For all his efforts to get his mates to appreciate and follow his work, none did so after he and they parted, not even the woman who understood him best and loved him most."

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GEOFFREY KEYNES, *The Gates of Memory.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. 428 pp. $24.95.

In his autobiography, *The Gates of Memory,* Geoffrey Keynes mainly recollects his dual careers in surgery and in literary scholarship.

As a small boy he wanted to be a doctor, and he never wavered from this choice. As a medical student he gave his "whole being" to his studies, feeling that at last he was "doing something real, dealing with human beings and learning fast what is meant by suffering." At the end of his medical studies he determined to become a surgeon instead of a physician, because a surgeon was "a craftsman," who cured patients by "the skill of his own hands," and who based his craft "on a wide knowledge of human structure and biology, always gaining by experience of the results of his work." He served as surgeon in France throughout the First World War, gaining "extraordinary surgical experience from thousands of operations of all types." Afterwards he became one of the most distinguished of English surgeons, pioneering in his use of blood transfusion, in the operation of thymectomy for myasthenia gravis, and in his vigorous advocacy of conservative—as opposed to radical—surgery for breast cancer. In 1955 he was knighted for surgical distinction.

His interest in books, literature, and biography, developed as follows: as a schoolboy he began collecting literary objects: the poems of his friend and contemporary Rupert Brooke; and then the seventeenth century works of the poet John Donne and the physician, and great "literary artist", Sir Thomas Browne. When he was a 20 year old undergraduate at Cambridge he saw some of William Blake's *Illustrations of the Book of Job* in a bookshop window, and he was not only attracted by the pictures, but was "immediately smitten by a deep interest in the artist, though I had not heard of him before . . . my feelings had arisen spontaneously and I proceeded to find out more about him." From then on Blake became his dominant interest outside of surgery. In 1921, after about 12 years of work, and two failed attempts, he published his massive *Bibliography of William Blake.* This was followed by his discovery of important Blake books and pictures, and his publication of a seriatim of books on Blake's life and work. His work led to a revival of interest in Blake, culminating in the recent Blake Trust (of which he is chairman) publication of facsimile reproductions of Blake's illuminated books.

It became his "principle" to "study in depth the works of an author whom I found interesting though unfashionable," largely through collecting books by and about the author (he has formed one of the world's great private libraries) and then publishing a bibliography. His work has then usually stimulated a renewed appreciation of the author. His bibliographies have been on Donne and Browne, John Evelyn, Dr. Robert Hooke, Jane Austen—whom he calls "my great literary heroine"—William Hazlitt, Rupert Brooke, and Siegfried Sassoon. He has also published a Catalogue of Edward Gibbon's library, and many works on the great physician and scientist, William Harvey. These latter include a little book, *The Personality of William Harvey*—where he discusses his discovery of hitherto unknown portraits of Harvey—and his massive *The Life of William Harvey,* which may become the definitive biography.

In his fascinating and insightful Presidential Address to the Bibliographical Society, "Religio Bibliographici" (reprinted in his autobiography), he comments how "hero-worship" has been "one of the possible triggers" of his bibliographic interest. This involves admiration for a individual's work, and then a desire to search out "every

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aspect" of the individual's biography. He then admits that a taste for bibliography "is not an indication of a creative mind, but rather a turn for craftsmanship, and for a certain tidiness." "I am fully reconciled," he writes, "to the fact that I have no creative originality." This sense of being a craftsman is the link between his work in surgery and his work in literature. Another link is his sense that in both surgery and literature he has followed the intellectual tradition of Charles Darwin (he knew members of the Darwin family and married one of Darwin's granddaughters). He writes that Darwin's "whole life work" was characterised by "the passion for truth and accuracy." He also observes that his work in literature has functioned "to keep alive in my mind the value of imagination in a material world—an important background to a profession [surgery] which might lead to a slight twist of inhumanity."

In the middle of his autobiography, as he recounts the burgeoning of his two careers, Keynes states that he wanted, "above all," the "understanding and affection of friends and family." He touches on his generally happy relations with his parents, wife, and his sons (while admitting that his preoccupation with his work caused his sons to see little of him as they were growing up). He writes that he had "great admiration" for his older brother, John Maynard Keynes, but that this brother took little notice of him during his formative years. Just how this older brother—so exceptional in his intelligence and creativity—influenced his younger brother, remains undetermined. Geoffrey Keynes is at his best when he recollects his enormously varied friendships; with eminent scientists, physicians and surgeons, authors, artists (of varied kinds), and poets, as well as with humbler individuals who came to him because they shared some of his interests, or as patients. In each of these contacts he has experienced pleasure in learning about another individual, and then in revealing parts of himself to this individual.

Reading *The Gates of Memory* caused me to recollect my one meeting with Keynes, 32 years ago, in his Hampstead home. After dinner he and I sat in his library, and he questioned me about my professional work in surgery, and my interest in history and biography. He encouraged me to go on with both my work and interests, and spoke of his sense of having achieved much in his two careers. He then showed me some of his books—including Blake's 1798 copy of *Bacon's Essays,* which contained Blake's caustic pencilled comments on Bacon (this book is mentioned in some detail in *Gates of Memory*). His manner was simple and direct, and somewhat reserved. I sensed that beneath this reserve there lurked an intensity of feeling. When I told him that I admired the precision and vividness of his writing in his (then) recently published *Personality of William Harvey,* he read some passages from this book aloud. These included his conclusion where he described the bust of Harvey, placed above the church vault, which held Harvey's tomb. "The bust of Harvey, 27 inches in height, is so well fashioned and is so lifelike that I am unable to subscribe to the idea that it was made from a death-mask. From a life-mask, perhaps; or it may even have been made during Harvey's life, at the same time as the statue placed in the College of Physicians in 1652. The face with its wrinkles and creases (and again note the distended temporal vein) is not dead. Here you have the authentic Harvey looking at life as it really is—honest, forthright, in the best sense of the word *scientific* [italics in original]." I remember thinking, as I listened to him read, that these last words applied to himself as well as Harvey.

Keynes wrote his autobiography in his ninety-third and ninety-fourth years, and died months after it was published. His book is extraordinary not only for what it re-

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lates, but for the power of his memory, for his realism and honesty, and for his unflagging love of life: what he describes, at the end of his autobiography, as "my quite outrageously enjoyable existence."

RALPH COLP, JR.
New York, New York

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Editorial

FIRE AND FLIRTATION

At the beginning of the life cycle, there's no such thing as getting a little bit pregnant. At the end of the life cycle, there's no such thing as getting glory for the family without a price. That goes for the Kennedys or any other family bent on improving posterity.

Twice *Biography* has accepted exceptionally interesting articles only to have the families owning the papers withdraw previously-granted permission to publish. In the first case a young scholar had received permission to use some private papers of an eminent deceased poet for his Ph.D dissertation. He sent us a copy of a letter granting permission to use the same material in articles. But then the heir had a change of heart. In the second case, another young scholar, working on a novelist deceased for almost thirty years, similarly had permission to use anything in the family papers for his dissertation. Because the family was forthcoming and receptive to his research, he agreed to submit any publication beyond the dissertation to the family. The article he wrote for us was a brilliant analysis of a novel as autobiography, using personal papers to draw the parallels with the fiction. Alas, the novelist was gay. The family drew up the drawbridge. The censorial right had been granted, and it was exercised. Even though we consulted the ACLU, people with long experience in all branches of publishing, and some members of the gay community, there was nothing we could do. One of the heirs of the novelist is head of an eighty-person law firm in a major city, and threatened us with a suit that all of our consultants

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told us we would almost certainly lose. Three conflicting legal principles were involved: the right of privacy, the right to private property, and the right of free speech. We were counselled that the First Amendment does not grant access to privately owned and held papers. So the young scholar and *Biography* both lost a good article and the world of scholarship lost a fresh insight into a forgotten novelist revealed through an exemplary use of an ancient but honorable technique.

Some argue that the legal right of privacy has prior claim in all such transactions. I have no quarrel with that. But I submit that legal arguments occur only after commission of a crime of passion: families who flirt with scholarly investigation are passionate for glory but will not accept the consequences of turning loose an honest scholar. It used to be fashionable in the 1800s and parts of this century for people with some claim to fame to decry nosy biographers—often while coyly looking over their shoulders to see who is listening.

But real prohibition requires disciplined draconian measures. If an individual or his heirs really want biographical silence then they must invoke harsh measures: either relentlessly and clandestinely searching out and destroying all papers and never admitting that the destruction took place; or locking up all papers for 100 years in a privately leased safe-deposit box and not in a semi-public archive such as a university library; or writing a subtle hagiography and then, like Mrs. Hawthorne, destroying the evidence and silently enduring the scorn of scholars. Anything less is a flirtation with fortune and an attempt to tease earnest scholars into being thieves, sneaks, or shills.

If suppression is not the game, then the best tactic is that of the Shaw Trust which allows its official biographer, as he told me, to use everything and write anything. All the Trust will do if it disapproves is say so, disavow the work, and give the reasons why. This civilized approach allows exposure and argument to do what fire and flirtation cannot.

Biography welcomes comment on this issue.

GEORGE SIMSON

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JOHN A. VANCE

Samuel Johnson and Thomas Warton

In the summer of 1754 Samuel Johnson returned to Oxford University for the first time since his bitter departure in December of 1729. The visit, for the stated purpose of consulting the university libraries in final preparation for the publication of the *Dictionary,* could not help eliciting from Johnson several conflicting emotions: pride for having made a name for himself as "The Rambler" and soon "Dictionary Johnson," anxiety over returning to the scene of much hope but more frustration in his younger days, and regret at not having been able to complete his education and take a degree. In his constant company those four to five weeks was Thomas Warton, then establishing himself as one of Oxford's leading literary names. It was Warton who walked and talked with Johnson during this important interlude in the dictionary maker's life and Warton who would later write a short account of the visit for Boswell's inclusion in the *Life of Johnson.*[1]

Because few topics have been as appealing to those interested in Johnson as his relationships with members of his immediate circle and other important figures of his day, a fuller examination of the Johnson-Thomas Warton friendship appears warranted and consistent with the recent work of scholars such as James Osborn, Bertram Davis, and Thomas Curley, as well as Johnson's biographers, Clifford, Wain, and Bate[2]—that is, in illuminating Johnson's connections with the lesser-heralded members of his circle. Not only are these relationships of great interest but they also reveal nuances in Johnson's personality not always evident in general accounts of his character. And one of the least understood and least valued of these friendships is that between

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Johnson and Warton. This study hopes to stress the quality and significance of their relationship by giving particulars of their association and by suggesting that in the mid-1750s the friendship was among the most emotional of Johnson's life.

Johnson and Warton most likely began their acquaintance through Thomas's brother Joseph, with whom Johnson had become fast friends by the fall of 1752.[3] Although there is no evidence of the two men having met before the summer of 1754, Thomas Warton might have accompanied his brother to London at an earlier date and then met Johnson. (Thomas was in the habit of coming down from Oxford to Joseph's house in Hampshire.) Whenever their first correspondence or meeting, Johnson certainly knew of Thomas Warton's reputation as a poet of some note[4] and as a serious scholar and critic.[5] Regarding the latter, Johnson wrote Thomas on 16 July 1754 thanking him for sending a copy of his recently published *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser:* "I now pay you a very honest acknowledgement for the advancement of the literature of our native Country. You have shown to all who shall hereafter attempt the study of our ancient authours the way to success, by directing them to the perusal of the books which those authours had read."[6] Well evident is the initial respect Johnson had for Warton the scholar and critic, for Johnson, having done considerable research while compiling an English dictionary, knew first-hand what effort it took to "advance" the literature of his native country.[7]

In the same letter, Johnson remarked that he would be coming to Oxford to work in the libraries and that he would look for Warton when he arrived. Warton no doubt took the hint and made arrangements for Johnson to stay at Kettell Hall, situated near Trinity College, where Warton resided. Feeling himself warmly welcomed, Johnson arrived at Oxford at the end of July and stayed between four and five weeks.[8] We can regret there being no one to record in detail Johnson's conversation and activities; it would have been fascinating seeing the Johnson-Warton friendship taking fruit, especially since they were in each other's company throughout the visit.

With Warton as his guide and companion Johnson visited old acquaintances, like John Meeke,[9] and made some new ones, for example, Francis Wise, the Radclivian Librarian, with whom Johnson was "much pleased."[10] We learn from Warton that Johnson was "highly pleased" to find all the old servants still at Pembroke College and gratified that they remembered him after so many years. Warton records several of Johnson's reminiscences of his college days, most notably, how his tutor William Jorden served him a glass of wine

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instead of a stern rebuke for sliding on Christ-Church meadow rather than attending a lecture on logic (*Life,* I, 272). In what must have been a comical moment, Warton recalls a huffing Johnson trying to catch up with his faster-moving host, crying out *"Sufflamina"* (trans.: "Put on your drag chain"). More serious occasions would include Johnson's visits with Warton to the antiquities in the Oxford area, such as the ruined abbeys of Oseney and Rewley. Perhaps troubled by the memory of Henry's VIII's order for the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 and the destruction of beautiful and venerable religious structures during the English Civil War, and by the visual reminder of the transitory way of the world, Johnson kept silent, Warton tells us, for half an hour before remarking about the abbeys, "I viewed them with indignation" (*Life,* I, 273). We also sense from Warton's account Johnson's disappointment and anger over and then almost playful resignation to the cool reception given him by John Ratcliff, the Master of Pembroke College, and the Master's lack of interest in the Dictionary project: "*There* lives a man," Johnson observed to Warton, "who lives by the revenues of literature, and will not move a finger to support it. If I come to live at Oxford, I shall take up my abode at Trinity" (I, 272).

Then as now, sharing most of the day with someone for a month's time can severely strain a new relationship if there are not a plethora of activities to divert one's attention—that is, unless the two persons develop genuine respect and affection for each other, which encourages hours of conversation and moments of both light-hearted humor and serious reflection. Although Warton mentioned in his reminiscence only a few of the topics he and Johnson discussed, for example, Oxford during Johnson's brief time as an undergraduate and a "long conversation" on Gothic buildings, we can trust they spoke of each other's work, Joseph Warton, the fate of their friend William Collins, the *Adventurer* series, university and national affairs, contemporary Oxford life, literary history, and the current state of literature and criticism. Over thirty years later Warton would write Boswell regretting that he had not committed to paper Johnson's conversation, "for in his earlier visits at Oxford, he lived with me almost intirely."[11]

Even though the chemistry that brings friends together cannot be satisfactorily described or understood, we may draw several sound conclusions as to why Johnson would at this time be attracted to Tom Warton. Although he was predisposed to like Warton because of his friendship with brother Joseph, Johnson could not have maintained his fondness for Thomas based on that factor alone. Certainly the two men had much in common—their literary and scholarly interests and

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their affection for Oxford being most obvious. But more important were the social aspects of Warton's character to which Johnson would be drawn. Despite recollections of his indolence, awkward personal appearance, and lack of social graces,[12] Warton, once his initial shyness in company subsided, was a gregarious and warm-hearted man, fond of good talk, good food, good drink, and good fun. A few lines from his mock-heroic poem, *A Panegyric on Oxford Ale* (1750), might suggest the Warton literary history rarely records:

> Balm of my cares, sweet solace of my toils,
> Hail, JUICE benignant! .....
> .....
> My sober evening let the tankard bless,
> With toast enbrown'd, and fragrant nutmeg fraught,
> While the rich draught with oft-repeated whiffs
> Tobacco mild improves. Divine repast! (11. 1–8)

As one who found time to enjoy the pleasures of life, Johnson could easily identify with the serious scholar and critic of Spenser who still allowed the spirit of mirth to rule in those moments of relaxation. And Warton's youth (he was then 26, Johnson on the threshold of 45) would have also been attractive to Johnson, who was then beginning to make friends with those "young dogs" whose company he so enjoyed: Joe Warton, Arthur Murphy, Robert Chambers, and Bennet Langton.

I believe as well that Johnson was greatly impressed and a little envious of Warton's position at Trinity College. An M.A., Oxford don, accomplished author and scholar with a growing reputation and promise of further success (Warton became Oxford's Professor of Poetry in 1756),[13] Warton represented to Johnson all that he could have become had fate permitted him to remain at Oxford, apply his literary talents, and rise in the University's establishment. Even though it may be hard to picture "Samuel Johnson, Oxford don," we must remember that earlier in his life, when he was Warton's age, Johnson was toiling away at that doomed school at Edial, after having suffered the indignity of teaching at Market Bosworth under the tyrannical rule of Sir Wolstan Dixie and failing to secure other teaching positions—some because he did not have a degree. It would have been hard for Johnson *not* to have been a little jealous of Warton's success in a field in which he himself had been so undistinguished. Still unsure that he would survive as a writer, Johnson could not help comparing his tenuous situation with the kind of security Warton had at Oxford. But any envy on Johnson's part remained subordinated to his fondness for Warton and respect for

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his accomplishments. Perhaps like a father or older brother, who broaden their vistas through a son or sibling, Johnson could at least enjoy through Warton the life of a university man.

Another reason for Johnson's affection might be advanced: it is quite possible that Thomas Warton reminded Johnson in many ways of Cornelius Ford, someone who had meant a great deal to Johnson thirty years earlier. Walter Jackson Bate has argued that in 1725–1726 Ford became a "liberating" role model to young Sam Johnson (some fifteen years younger than cousin Cornelius—about the same age difference, then, between Johnson and Warton).[14] The similarities between Ford and Warton are striking. Like Warton, Ford was a university don, who by all accounts was on his way to a promising career at Cambridge before resigning his fellowship at the age of thirty. Both men were noted for their learning and broad interests[15] as well as their amiability, conviviality, tolerance, kindness, lack of pretence and hypocrisy, and, of course, their love of a hearty draught.[16] And any memory of Ford would have been therapeutic at this point (summer of 1754) in Johnson's life, for the effects of his wife's death in March of 1752 had not worn off,[17] and he would have welcomed any reminder of those happier and more stable moments in his life—such as that year he spent with Ford at Stourbridge.

Johnson certainly developed an affection for Thomas Warton in July and August of 1754, but it quickly grew into an emotional reliance on the younger man to reciprocate the warm feelings Johnson felt and expressed. And the key to the emotional nature of Johnson's friendship with Warton may be found in a letter to his friend on 21 December 1754: "I have ever since [the death of my wife] seemed to myself broken off from mankind a kind of solitary wanderer in the wild of life, without any certain direction, or fixed point of view. A gloomy gazer on a World to which I have little relation. Yet I would endeavour by the help of you and your brother to supply the want of closer union by friendship" (*Letters*, I, 59–60). Because of Johnson's loneliness and frequent bouts of melancholia and accordingly his desperate need for close relationships, Thomas Warton came along at a time when Johnson needed a stable, affectionate, and committed friendship the most. When combined, then, with Warton's personality, position, and, perhaps, his resemblance to Ford, the timing of the friendship and even the place where it took fruit (for Johnson was evidently refreshed emotionally by his visit to Oxford that summer) made Johnson most desirous of having Thomas Warton as one of his closest friends. But as experience has shown many, the very act of *soliciting* a closer relation-

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ship is most often counterproductive—as it would soon be in the Johnson-Warton friendship.

Another of the topics Johnson and Warton must have discussed at Oxford was the possibility of Johnson's obtaining an M.A. degree from the university. Writing to Warton at the end of November 1754, Johnson thanks his new friend and Francis Wise for their interest in procuring for him the M.A. An encouragement for Warton to write further observations on Spenser ("Three hours a day stolen from sleep and amusement will produce it") does not obscure Johnson's preoccupation with the degree: "Can I do anything to promoting the diploma—?" (*Letters,* I, 58). Warton must have acted immediately on Johnson's plea, for he spoke to Wise and recommended that the university award the degree in connection with the publication of the *Dictionary.*[18] In all probability, Warton deserves the most credit for gaining the M.A. for Johnson. Now with an M.A. next to his name, Johnson was more than enjoying a university life *through* Warton; he was moreover receiving directly its benefits *because* of Warton's help. For this Johnson had to have been deeply grateful and highly pleased with his growing friendship with the Oxford don.

Johnson wrote Warton quite frequently from November 1754 to August 1755. These letters speak further of the degree, literary and scholarly topics, Joseph Warton, Collins, Robert Dodsley, the *Dictionary,* Warton's own work (about which, as the letter cited above illustrates, Johnson took a sincere interest), and Johnson's visiting Oxford again. Although Warton's letters to Johnson do not survive, we can safely assume that Johnson received far fewer letters from his Oxford friend than he wrote. But Warton was not always diligent in his social correspondence, as his sister Jane was quick to remind him.[19] Regardless, the sad fact is that at this time in their relationship Johnson's affection for Warton went far beyond any feelings Thomas had for him and that during this period Warton inadvertently yet deeply hurt his older friend. Reading over the correspondence from November 1754 through May 1755, we find Johnson frequently asking Warton to write and visit more often and we are struck by the swelling of emotion in Johnson's words. In his December 1754 letter to Thomas quoted above, Johnson is a man literally entreating for assistance and an intimate friendship as he seeks to overcome those agonizing moments of deep depression. It is testimony to Johnson's fondness for Warton that he would so actively pursue a relationship in which the parties are separated by some fifty miles and that consequently their moments together could only be periodic, not frequent.

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On 1 February 1755 Johnson tactfully asks Thomas for a letter by mentioning the possibility that his latest correspondence went astray: "I hope however you are busy, and should be glad to know what you are doing" (*Letters,* I, 61). Johnson received a response from Warton on 4 February, but it was not personal enough to suit a man whose feelings were based on emotion as well as respect and affection: "But why do[e]s my dear Mr Warton tell me nothing of himself. Where hangs the new volume [of Spenser]? can I help?" (*Letters,* I, 63). Nine days later Johnson displays further impatience with Warton's poor writing habits and frustration that his feelings were not being reciprocated: "Your Brother, who is a better correspondent than you, and not much better, sends me word that your Pupils keep you in college, of which I am glad but do they keep you from writing too? Let them at least give you time to write to . . . Sam: Johnson" (*Letters,* I, 63). Johnson evinces an impelling need for written proof of Warton's affection for him and assurance that he too values the new friendship. At this point in his life Johnson could not be secure without some tangible indication of Warton's commitment to the relationship.

On 20 March a tinge of desperation and self-lament creeps into Johnson's words as he writes, "Dear Mr Warton let me hear from you, and tell me something I care not what so I hear it but from you. . . . I have a great mind to come to Oxford at Easter, but you will not invite me, shall I come uninvited or stay here where nobody perhaps would miss me if I went. a hard choice but such is the world to . . . Sam: Johnson" (*Letters,* I, 67). This pathetic plea for attention again manifests itself five days later as the still-wounded Johnson writes, "Though not to write when a man can write so well is an offence sufficiently heinous yet I shall pass it by" (*Letters,* I, 67). These letters exhibit a fascinating mixture of affection, sensitivity, self-pity, anger, and frustration. In his other correspondence of this period we find Johnson writing always as an equal or superior; it is only in the letters to Thomas Warton that we discover him in the inferior position of a man suing for attention and love. Not until his last letters to Hester Thrale does Johnson again assume this role. In both instances Johnson sensed that he was losing someone dear to him—someone whose feelings he wished were equal to his own.

The emotional tenor of Johnson's letters was certainly not lost on Thomas Warton. A busy man not prone to personal reflection in correspondence with his friends, Warton was surprised by Johnson's insecurity and unsure how to respond to his friend's unsettling feelings of anger, hurt, and disappointment because he could not comprehend the

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depth of the older man's emotions. Thomas wrote his brother in April 1755 that he soon expected a "solemn" letter from Johnson, and in an unpublished letter of 9 May 1755 he noted to Joseph, "I have not yet heard from Johnson, which amazes or rather *troubles,* me much. Depend on't he thinks, as you know how suspicious he is, that we never designed seeing him in London at Easter, but that it was a trumpt-up story. I have wrote to him, to beg a Letter from him."[20] Thomas at least sensed that something might be troubling his friend, but one easily discovers his frustration and bewilderment over Johnson's apparently strange behavior. It was difficult for Warton to perceive why Johnson would think the worst when he and Joseph failed to pay a visit at Easter time. And on 13 May Johnson responded to the letter Warton mentioned sending above: "I am grieved that you should think me capable of neglecting your letters, and beg that you never will admit any such suspicion again" (*Letters,* I, 72). Understandably, considering his frequent requests for letters, Johnson was both offended and hurt that *he* would be accused of not answering his friend. Regardless of the many clues Johnson left in his letters, Thomas Warton never fully appreciated the older man's cry for help; he probably had difficulty seeing Johnson as anything less than the stolid and wise Rambler.[21]

Shortly after this time Johnson appears to have taken stock of his friendship with Warton and painfully concluded that he had gone too far in his expectations for it. The next few letters to Oxford show Johnson beginning to regain control of his emotions, maintaining his fondness for Warton but tempering it with a hint of independence and equality in his choice of phrasing. He writes on 10 June 1755: "I have promised myself every day to inform you when you might expect me at Oxford, and have not been able to fix a time. . . . I am afraid my stay with you cannot be long, but what is the inference? we must endeavour to make it cheerful. I wish your Brother could meet us"; and then two weeks later, "I have not laid aside my purpose, for every day makes me more impatient of staying from you. . . . I hope now to see you next week, but next week is but another name for tomorrow which has been noted for promising and deceiving" (*Letters,* I, 73, 74). There is no overt or subtle pleading in these letters; rather, if anything is subtle in them it is Johnson's emotional withdrawal from Warton ("I am afraid my stay with you cannot be long, . . . we must endeavour to make it cheerful"), his fear of intimacy with Warton ("I am afraid my stay with you cannot be long. . . . I wish your Brother could meet us"), his almost indifferent air regarding their seeing each other again

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("I have promised myself every day to inform you when you might expect me at Oxford, and have not been able to fix a time. . . . I hope now to see you next week, but next week is but another name for tomorrow"), and perhaps his resentment over Warton's not seeing him the previous Easter (". . . for tomorrow which has been noted for promising and deceiving"). After a 7 August 1755 letter in which Johnson *only* writes about some scholarly matters, the next surviving letter to Warton is not until 21 June 1757. Here Johnson still shows his affection and desire to hear from his friend, but now suppressed is the sense of emotional dependence, replaced instead by a "superior" persona: "I long to see you all, but cannot conveniently come yet. You might write to me now and then, if you were good for any thing. but . . . Professors forget their friends" (*Letters,* I, 103).

Whereas by the early summer of 1755 Johnson appears to have reassessed his relationship with Warton and reflected the change in his correspondence, he periodically lapsed into responding emotionally to what he perceived as Thomas's insensitivity. For example, Johnson wrote Joseph Warton on 15 April 1756, "Though when you and your brother were in town you did not think my humble habitation worth a visit" (*Letters,* I, 90–91). Johnson's sensitivity and disappointment is evident in this letter, but significant is his expressing these feelings to Joseph, not Thomas. To write these words to Thomas would have meant a large step backward in the distance Johnson was trying to put between his emotions and the younger man. That Johnson could not totally suppress his emotional dependence on Warton's love, at least for several years, is also suggested in Richard Mant's account that Johnson once lamented (exactly when, we do not know) "with tears in his eyes" that the Wartons had not visited him in four years.[22] Johnson's reaction to Warton is consistent in its seeming inconsistency—that is, it is consistent with most men and women who attempt to maintain a lesser relationship with someone they once cared deeply about. The new relationship is never totally satisfactory; it is characterized by an ebbing and flowing of emotions in its earlier stages, and only time erodes enough of the initial feelings to allow for a healthy friendship.

Johnson could have, of course, followed the example of many a rejected suitor and severed his relationship with Warton, but although his letters to the younger man drop off sharply after the summer of 1755, he continued his friendship in the five years that followed, even though now it was less important to him than it was from July 1754 through May 1755. We know, for instance, that in 1756 Warton was

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busy securing twelve subscribers for Johnson's edition of Shakespeare, that in October 1757 Johnson wrote (although apparently the letter was not forwarded) suggesting some literary schemes "an inhabitant of Oxford" might find interesting, and that in April 1758 he thanked Warton for sending some notes for the Shakespeare edition.[23] Johnson's respect for his friend's new position as Oxford's Professor of Poetry and for his reputation as a noted author is evident in the following: "It will be reputable to my work, and suitable to your professorship to have something of yours in the notes" (*Letters,* I, 107). During this period Johnson was solidifying his friendship with young Bennet Langton, who was Warton's student at Trinity College, and through him extended special greetings to Thomas.[24] That Johnson's respect and warm regard were still strong is furthermore evident in his inviting Warton, along with Reynolds and Langton, to contribute essays to the *Idler* (nos. 33, 93, and 96 in December 1758 and January and February 1760).

A distinct cooling of the relationship in the next decade might be assumed from the fact that there is only one known letter from Johnson to Warton in the 1760s (31 May 1769); but we know that Johnson dined with him in 1760 and either wrote or talked to him in late summer or early fall of 1762 concerning the education of a "young Gentleman" (*Letters,* I, 142). In July 1764 Warton wrote Thomas Percy asking him to "beg" his "particular Compliments" to Johnson, who was then at Easton Mauduit. And in a December letter Warton informs Percy that he and Johnson were recently together at Oxford and that his friend intended to spend "a long time" with him after Christmas.[25] In addition, Warton must have seen Johnson on at least some of his sojourns to London with his brother during holidays from Oxford. Mant's recollection of Johnson's tearful lament that the Wartons had not been to see him for four years fails to reflect the other times the men surely met. Unfortunately, there was no Boswell recording Johnson's conversation and identifying his company in December and January, when Thomas habitually came to the city. To balance Mant's account we might note Warton's comment to Boswell in 1786 that when he was in London he spent "much time" with his friend Johnson.[26] And although Johnson's stays at Oxford in the 1766–1769 period were primarily in the company of Robert Chambers, we may trust that time was set aside to visit Warton at Trinity College. For example, when Johnson was at the university in 1769 he sent Warton a note suggesting they get together for tea (*Letters,* I, 225–26).

We have no hint of Johnson's feelings if indeed he sat down to tea

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with Warton in 1769, but fourteen years after he had actively sought Warton's attention the emotional need to be with or hear from the younger man had been greatly diminished and a moderate and therefore healthier affection was now in place. Johnson's circle of friends had widened considerably since 1755, Hester Thrale and her family having since 1765 satisfied much of Johnson's emotional needs, and Warton thus assumed a place among the growing constellation of men and women of whom Johnson was fond.[27] Over the next seven years we find Johnson thanking Warton for his "readiness" to contribute notes for the revision of the Shakespeare edition, which was to Johnson "a new instance" of Warton's friendship, and praising the first volume of Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774), which he told George Horne set a "noble example" (*Letters,* I, 238, 405). (And in that volume Warton called Johnson a critic of "unquestionable taste and discernment" [p. 341], an assessment he would alter, however, after reading the "Life of Milton.") Other than the probability of Johnson's seeing his friend on one or more of his visits to Oxford from 1770 to 1775, in 1776 he took Boswell to Trinity College especially to meet Warton.[28]

It has been suggested that Johnson and Warton's friendship suffered a permanent breach in 1777.[29] After reading through the first edition of Warton's collected poems (1777), Johnson remarked that a "gentleman of eminence in literature had got into a bad style of poetry of late" and then went on to parody Warton's verse as he had Percy's (*Life,* III, 158–59). Because Mant heard on good authority that Johnson said Warton "was the only man of genius, whom he knew, without a heart," one might naturally conclude as did Mant, that Warton heard of the parody and refused to continue the friendship and that in retaliation Johnson likewise ruptured their lines of communication. In addition, the only known letter from Johnson to Warton after 1777 (May 1780) evinces little warmth (*Letters,* II, 357). And in an April 1785 letter to Richard Hurd, Warton characterizes Johnson as "a specious and popular writer without taste,"[30] a seemingly callous remark considering Johnson's recent death in December of 1784. I do not believe, however, that their friendship ended then or at all, and one must be careful when evaluating literary estimations not to assume that literary disagreements necessarily reflect personal dislike.

Whereas Johnson and Warton in later years could be occasionally critical of each other's personal habits[31] or literary work, there is no reason to suppose with Mant that the men were estranged during the last seven years of Johnson's life. We might consider the following evi-

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dence: Warton became a member of the Club in 1782 without any known objection on Johnson's part; Hannah More wrote in the summer of that year that she was to dine in a few days with Johnson and Warton at Oxford;[32] Warton, as I noted, told Bowell that when in London he spent "much time" with Johnson; Warton kept Johnson's letters and shared them with Boswell, delighted in Bowell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,* and looked forward to the *Life of Johnson,* for which he provided particulars;[33] and, most importantly perhaps, Bowell did not record any permanent break between the two men, either in the *Life* or in the journals. Regarding his parody of Warton's verse, Johnson added, "I love the fellow dearly, now—for all I laugh at him."[34] Johnson's response not only demonstrates his sincere affection for Warton, even in the twenty-third year of their relationship, but also how easy it was now, long after that emotional period in 1754 and 1755, to patronize in a good-natured way—in short, to assume a superior role in the friendship.

As for Warton's disturbing response to Hurd, his remarks were a clear reaction to his late friend's assessments of Milton's shorter poems, most notably *Lycidas.* In his 1785 edition of the great poet, Warton takes issue with several of Johnson's pronouncements in the *Lives of the Poets,* countering the complaints about the mythology and pastoral allusions in *Lycidas* and concluding, as a good eighteenth-century literary historian should, that "irregularities and incongruities must not be tried by modern criticism."[35] Warton disagrees tactfully; he casts no aspersions on Johnson the man or critic, and his notes suggest respect for Johnson's acknowledged place as a leading commentator on Milton. Calling Johnson a "specious and popular writer without taste" in the letter to Hurd likely reflects Warton's anger over the weight of his late, famous friend's arguments, for they were not easy to rebut. Warton, we must remember, was influenced and inspired by Milton and vigorous in his defense of whom he saw as England's last truly imaginative poet. That Warton could separate the man from his work is apparent as far back as April 1755, when his friendship with Johnson was at its enthusiastic beginning. He wrote his brother about the *Dictionary,* "you may plainly perceive strokes of laxity and indolence. They are two most unwieldy volumes. . . . I fear his preface will disgust, by the expressions of his consciousness of superiority, and of his contempt of patronage."[36] Although not as harsh as the evaluation given to Hurd thirty years later, these comments indicate that in his correspondence Warton could be blunt and tactless in his assessments.

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And it is hard to imagine Johnson and Warton *not* being aware long before 1777 of their at times differing literary tastes. One assumes that sometime during that summer of 1754 or on the many occasions they were together over the years the men debated the value of Milton's shorter verse, the talents of Thomson, Gray, and Young, and the diction, imagery, and thematic content reflective of the best of poets. Between two good friends, the icy demeanor of stubborness and argument melts as easily as it forms.

The evidence is therefore too insufficient to claim an estrangement between Johnson and Warton after 1777. Other than moments or short periods when they were angry with each other and perhaps not speaking, Johnson numbered Tom Warton among his good friends to the end of his life. As Johnson wrote Langton in 1782, "To let friendship dye away by negligence and silence is certainly not wise. It is voluntarily to throw away one of the greatest comforts of this weary pilgrimage" (*Letters,* II, 469). We may feel confident that Johnson kept his friendship with Warton in "constant repair."

Biographers have made little of the Johnson-Thomas Warton relationship, because in its entirety, over the span of thirty years, it does not match the significance of Johnson's friendships with Hester Thrale, James Boswell, Joshua Reynolds, David Garrick, Bennet Langton, John Taylor, and other familiar names. But in the mid-1750s Johnson saw this relationship as one of the most important in his life. An understanding of the friendship does more than reflect the state of Johnson's mind during that troubled period after Tetty's death; it also helps us comprehend the depth and complexity of emotional response of which Johnson was capable. In the late spring and early summer of 1755 Johnson pulled far enough away from Thomas Warton to avoid further pain and frustration. He had to check his growing affection for and emotional dependence on the younger man in order to regain control of himself. Angry, saddened, bitterly disappointed, and embarrassed that the relationship could not meet his expectations, Johnson had no choice but to effect a change in his feelings, as a pronounced shift in the tone of his later letters reveals. But throughout his life he valued their friendship and he maintained a fondness for the Oxford don: "I love the fellow dearly, now." Regardless of how he altered his response toward Warton, Johnson could never forget how he once needed and solicited his affection, and over the years each perceived slight on Warton's part had the power to sting sharply. In the final analysis, what lessened the spirit of Johnson's friendship with Thomas

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Warton was not a difference in personality or literary taste, as has often been argued, but rather it was Johnson's realization in 1755 that his emotional stake in the relationship had been too high.

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NOTES

1. Boswell writes, "Of [Johnson's] conversation while at Oxford at this time, Mr. Warton preserved and communicated to me the following memorial, which, though not written with all the care and attention which that learned and elegant writer bestowed on those compositions which he intended for the publick eye, is so happily expressed in an easy style, that I should injure it by any alteration." Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.,* ed., G. B. Hill. Revised by L. F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–64), I, 271. Further reference will be to *Life.*
2. Osborne, "Edmond Malone and Dr. Johnson" in Mary M. Lascelles, James L. Clifford, J. D. Fleeman, and John P. Hardy, eds., *Johnson, Boswell and Their Circle: Essays Presented to Lawrence Fitzroy Powell in Honour of His Eighty-Fourth Birthday* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 1–20; Davis, "Dr. Johnson and Sir John Hawkins: A Friendship of Four Decades," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* 74 (1975), 212–23 and "A Matter for Dispute: Thomas Percy and Samuel Johnson," *Johnson Society Transactions* (1976), pp. 21–39; Curley, "Johnson's Secret Collaboration [with Robert Chambers]" in John J. Burke, Jr. and Donald Kay, eds., *The Unknown Samuel Johnson* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 91–112; James L. Clifford, *Young Sam Johnson* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955) and *Dictionary Johnson* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979); John Wain, *Samuel Johnson* (New York: The Viking Press, 1974); and W. Jackson Bate, *Samuel Johnson* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977). Of these three biographers, only Wain begins to examine the nature of the Johnson-Thomas Warton friendship (see *Samuel Johnson,* pp. 171–73).
3. Joseph remarked in November of 1752 that he and Johnson had become "quite intimate." British Library Add. MS. 42560, ff. 24–25. For a consideration of this relationship, see John A. Vance, "The Samuel Johnson-Joseph Warton Friendship," *Johnson Society Transactions* (1982), pp. 44–55.
4. By the summer of 1754 Warton had published such poems as *Five Pastoral Eclogues* (1745), *The Pleasures of Melancholy* (1747), *The Triumph of Isis* (1750), *Newmarket, A Satire* (1751), and *On the Approach of Summer* (1753).
5. For an introduction to the work of Thomas Warton, see John A. Vance, *Joseph and Thomas Warton* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Company, 1983).
6. R. W. Chapman, ed., *The Letters of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), I, 56. Further reference will be to *Letters.*
7. Johnson writes in that letter, "The Reason why the authours which are yet read of the sixteenth Century are so little understood is that they are read alone, and no help is borrowed from those who lived with them or before them. Some

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part of this ignorance I hope to remove by my book [the *Dictionary*] which now draws towards its end. . . ." (*Letters,* I, 56).

8. Clifford discusses the factual aspects of the visit in *Dictionary Johnson,* pp. 123–25.

9. On leaving him, Johnson said, "I used to think Meeke had excellent parts, when we were boys together at the College: but, alas!" Warton's account in *Life,* I, 272.

10. Johnson browsed in Wise's excellent personal library and then heard the librarian read a dissertation entitled "A History and Chronology of the fabulous Ages" (*Life,* I, 273).

11. Charles N. Fifer, ed., *The Correspondence of James Boswell with Certain Members of the Club* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), p. 234.

12. Lord Eldon observed, "Poor Tom Warton! He was a tutor at Trinity; at the beginning of every term he used to send to his pupils to know whether they would *wish* to attend lecture that term." Fanny Burney noted in 1783 that Warton "looks unformed in his manners and awkward in his gestures. He joined not one word in the general talk." Horace Twiss, *The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon,* 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1844), III, 302; Austin Dobson, ed., *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay,* 6 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1904–05), II, 237.

13. In 1728, the year Johnson entered Oxford, Thomas Warton the Elder concluded his second five-year term as the University's Professor of Poetry.

14. Bate, *Samuel Johnson,* pp. 45–55.

15. Warton was more the scholar than was Ford, but his talents and curiosity took him far beyond the scholar's realm. Other than tasting success in several genres—poetry, literary criticism, biography, literary history, satire, the essay, and editing—Warton was much interested in mythic history, antiquarianism, military displays, music, the countryside, brisk walks, and pipe-smoking.

16. Ford was assuredly the model for the plump, benign parson in Hogarth's *Midnight Modern Conversation.* By the summer of 1754, Thomas Warton may have been inching toward chubbiness; years later his literary enemies would call him a "little fat man."

17. See Bate, *Samuel Johnson,* pp. 273–75, 341, 378, 435–36, 502, 554.

18. Wise wrote to Warton on 14 December, "I have considered on what you mentioned to me at the President's, and think that it would be more apropos, and more to Mr. Johnson's good liking, if the University honours were sent him before his book is published, that he may be able to write himself A.M. in the title page. I wish you would hint this to him as soon as you can, and enquire in what forwardness his work is. I shall hardly be in Oxford till after the holidays now coming on; but when I return, will sollicit the affair to the utmost, and draw up the form of Diploma, unless you choose to do it." Printed in John Wooll, *Biographical Memoirs of the Late Revd. Joseph Warton, D.D.* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1806), p. 228.

19. See Joan Pittock, "Lives and Letters: New Wartoniana," *Durham University Journal,* 70 (1978), 198.

20. Wooll, *Biographical Memoirs,* p. 232 and British Library Add. MS. 42560, f. 40. I wish to thank David Fairer for providing a clear transcription of the unpublished letter.

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21. In his forthcoming biography of Warton, David Fairer may have more to say on Thomas's response to Johnson during this period and in later years.
22. Mant, *Memoirs* of Thomas Warton's life, prefixed to *The Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Warton, B.D.*, 2 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1802), I, xxxix.
23. *Letters,* I, 103, 107; Clifford, *Dictionary Johnson,* p. 170.
24. The relationship with Langton probably helped Johnson temper his feelings for Warton. It is not unusual in the complex nature of human relationships for the rebuffed suitor to transfer his affections to someone close to the person of interest—namely, to a brother, a sister, a good friend, or possibly in this case, to a student.
25. M. G. Robinson and Leah Dennis, eds., *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Thomas Warton* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 108–09. It appears, however, that Johnson did not return after the holidays.
26. Fifer, *Correspondence,* p. 234.
27. And one among that growing constellation was young James Boswell. It is both relevant to this discussion and highly ironic that when Boswell wrote Johnson from Utrecht "expressing much anxiety to hear from him" (Boswell's first letter was evidently ignored), Johnson, in a position of clear superiority in the relationship, admonished the young Scot: "You are not to think yourself forgotten, or criminally neglected, that you have had yet no letter from me. I love to see my friends, to hear from them, to talk to them, and to talk of them; but it is not without a considerable effort of resolution that I prevail upon myself to write. . . . To tell you that I am or am not well, that I have or have not been in the country, that I drank to your health in the room in which we sat last together, and that your acquaintance continue to speak of you with their former kindness, topicks with which those letters are commonly filled which are written only for the sake of writing, I seldom shall think worth communicating" (*Life,* I, 473; *Letters,* I, 164). Warton himself might have thought to respond similarly to Johnson's entreaties in 1754 and 1755. Boswell, in the inferior role, knew well how unsettling it was *not* to have received "evidence" of his new friendship with Johnson.
28. Warton's reticence at the meeting might suggest a coolness between him and Johnson, but more likely it resulted from his characteristic shyness around social and literary people he did not know well (e.g., Boswell at this time and the Burneys at another). See *Life,* II, 446–49 but also Charles Ryskamp and Frederick A. Pottle, eds., *Boswell: The Ominous Years, 1774–1776* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), p. 281. In the journal account Johnson remarked to Boswell that Warton was "not at his ease. He liked only company in which he could reign." Once he came to know Boswell, however, Warton became much more loquacious.
29. Mant wrote of the relationship, "There is some reason to suspect that this friendship was followed by a coldness; of which we may be allowed to conjecture, though it may be impossible to ascertain, the causes. . . . Whatever may have been the primary cause, I am satisfied that something unpleasant must have been experienced, or any unkindness would not have appeared in" Thomas Warton (*Memoirs,* pp. xxxviii, xl). Mant is quoted in *Life,* I, 270, n. 1.
30. "Correspondence of Thomas Warton," *Bodleian Quarterly Record,* 6 (1931), 307. In an unpublished letter in Yale's Osborn Collection, Warton agrees with

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Ralph (?) Hall's view that one could be "much disgusted" with the "Injustice and Asperity" of many of Johnson's "sentiments & judgments." The letter is dated 8 January 1786.

31. Johnson disliked Warton's habit of keeping "mean company" and his penchant for "low jocularity." See *Life,* I, 449; Ryskamp and Pottle, *Ominous Years,* p. 281; and Pottle, ed., *Boswell's London Journal* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950), pp. 320–21.

32. We do not know for certain if the dinner took place. More's "Anecdotes" in G. B. Hill, ed., *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (1897; rpt. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1966), II, 199.

33. Warton died a year before the publication of the *Life.* In the Advertisement to the first edition Boswell wrote, "It is painful to me to think, that while I was carrying on this Work, several of those to whom it would have been most interesting have died. . . . Let me particularly lament the Reverend Thomas Warton, and the Reverend Dr. Adams. Mr. Warton, amidst his variety of genius and learning, was an excellent Biographer. His contributions to my Collection are highly estimable; and as he had a true relish of my 'Tour of the Hebrides,' I trust I should now have been gratified with a larger share of his kind approbation" (*Life,* I, 8).

34. Hill, *Miscellanies,* I, 190. The quotation is from Hester Thrale's *Anecdotes.*

35. Warton, ed., *Poems Upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations, by John Milton* (London: James Dodsley, 1785), p. 35. On the other hand, Warton shared Johnson's disdain for Milton's politics.

36. Wooll, *Biographical Memoirs,* pp. 230–31. The assessment was not entirely negative, for Warton thought the history of the language "pretty full" and the preface "noble."

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VICTORIA MYERS

The Significant Fictivity of Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*

This essay is an experiment to see whether some of the relatively recent findings of linguistic philosophers may provide us with a method, or at least a point-of-view, for understanding the language of autobiography. It takes its impetus from Mary Louise Pratt's *Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse,* which, though it is concerned primarily with fictional narrative, makes observations of value to students of autobiographical narrative as well.[1] This paper applies some of those observations to Maxine Hong Kingston's autobiography *The Woman Warrior* to elicit certain characteristics of her technique, characteristics which essentially describe her understanding of the fictivity, or constructiveness, of autobiography.

For many readers, especially those influenced by existentialism, the perceiving self naturally helps to create its perceptions and therefore to some extent structures and even determines the facts of experience; this makes objectivity a nonsensical requirement of non-fiction.[2] For these readers, the act of construction or interpretation which gives autobiography its fictive quality occurs not simply in the act of composition, but already in the acts of perception which constitute experience. Though it is evident that Kingston grants these premises about the inevitable fictivity of autobiography, she also exploits preconceptions we might have about technical fictivity. She ambiguously mixes techniques more usually associated with myths and tales together with techniques more usually associated with non-fiction; as a result, fictivity in this technical sense extends her concept of fictivity in the "inevi-

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table" sense. Rather than locating the source of construction or interpretation solely in the perceiving self, she locates it in her effort to extricate her voice from the many already existing voices of tradition, myth, and story in her speech community; thus, rather than suggesting that the language of autobiography merely serves as the vehicle for communicating her interpretation of experience, she shows the language of autobiography arising in the process of her coming to terms with the community which, through language, structures her experience. Speech act theory provides the terms for understanding this point.

I must confess at the outset that the experiment is somewhat biased: Kingston's autobiography is in so many respects about language that it seems to beg for a linguistically-informed reading. The same may not be true (or true to the same extent) of other autobiographies. But, though the general applicability of speech act theory to autobiography will remain untested in this paper, an adaptation of Pratt's description of the speaker-audience relationship may provide a tool for understanding other autobiographers' implied concept of language and the characteristics of their technique.[3]

Speech act theory studies language primarily, to use the distinction of de Saussure, as *parole* rather than as *langue,* as communication rather than as abstract system.[4] It does not totally reject the description of the native speaker's competence as a knowledge of grammatical relations and transformations, but asserts that the description is incomplete and is a distortion because it is incomplete. Utterances are not created in a vacuum but with purpose and in relation to a context, or rather, as I would say, in relation to contexts intricately embedded in each other: the context of the kind (or purpose) of the utterance, as well as the context of the physical, psychological, and cultural phenomena which determine its interpretation. When children learn their language they learn not only its grammar, but also the customs and values of the community. To a very great extent, therefore, communication depends upon the grasp of conventional devices for signalling intention. On the simplest level, certain expressions such as "I promise" will "count" in our culture as undertaking an obligation.[5] The listener has the rather formidable task of becoming attuned to the system by which expressions count as they do. Communication, moreover, involves not only this rather complex system of decoding but ultimately requires knowledge which itself is conveyed primarily through language.

Kingston's technique seems to imply a governing attitude consis-

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tent with these premises. Rather than a virtually autonomous maker of meaning from the chaos of the external world, the autobiographer is plumped down in a world already permeated with meaning (or meanings) and must find what expressions count as. The author's personality to some extent "structures the terrain" which she is trying to map (throughout, Kingston confesses to having "twisted design" into everthing), but she is equally concerned to show that a terrain existed before she had anything to do with it and has provided the peculiar nourishment of her own idiolect.[6] In large part, the linguistic usages of her community (conversations, old sayings, family stories, and myths) form the subject matter of her book, and Kingston recreates her efforts to redistribute or reconstruct the meanings away from those assumed by her community and toward a system of meanings that will allow her an identity and role more ego-sustaining than that sanctioned by this community.

According to Pratt, what makes the conveyance of meaning possible in the first place is the operation of an implied co-operative principle. This principle governs, either in the observance or the breach, all conversation, and by extension, all communication. It is, she surmises, only a particular instance of the principles governing all sorts of human interaction. The co-operative principle is the assumption that the speaker desires to carry on the conversation and thus will " 'make [his] conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk-exchange in which [he] is engaged.' "[7] This principle is specified by four maxims, briefly: 1) Be as informative but no more so than is required, that is, don't dominate the conversation. 2) Don't give falsehoods or say more than you have evidence for. 3) Make your contribution relevant to the topic of the conversation. 4) Avoid obscurity and ambiguity.[8] As we shall see in some detail later, these maxims are often flouted in conversation, but the assumption that they exist (even when flouted) makes possible the decoding process.

Along with the co-operative principle, the operation of implicature is required for the decoding process. Implicatures are bridging assumptions, assumptions on which we rely in order to make sense of conversational input, assumptions anyone overhearing a conversation would have to make in order to understand in what way utterances can be construed as replies to other utterances. If I say, "I have a headache," and my friend says, "I have an aspirin in my purse," I interpret her statement of fact as an offer to assuage my pain. If she were making no effort to utter something relevant to my complaint, she would be

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violating the co-operative principle.[9] Her response is indirect, but she can rely on my knowledge that aspirin often eliminates headaches, on my confidence in her friendliness, and a host of other contextual information to interpret her statement rightly. As Pratt explains, "What a speaker implicates on a given occasion is distinguishable from what he says, that is, from the literal and conventional meaning of the words he uses; what is said and what is implicated together form the meaning of the utterance in that context."[10] Hearers interpret both direct and indirect speech acts by using implicatures—shared knowledge about the physical, psychological, and cultural context—to fill in what has not been said and to find clues about how to "take" an utterance. In fact, since we can never say everything that would make an utterance perfectly independent of such knowledge, the hearer must use implicatures to interpret everything that is said, not just indirect speech acts or figurative ones, as might be thought at first.[11]

I think we can see how such a characterization of conversation could also apply to literary (and, among them, autobiographical) speech acts. First, insofar as the writer attempts to give verisimilitude to the conversations she portrays, she will rely implicitly on the co-operative principle to give the impression that the conversation makes sense. Second, and more important, she can build up the meaning of the discourse as a whole by way of the implicatures the reader is required to supply in understanding the conversations of the "characters" and their relationships to the explanatory and evaluative remarks of the narrator.

Many of the conversations in *The Woman Warrior* between Kingston and her mother, or her mother and someone else, construct a complex interaction of implicatures. A scene from the third chapter, entitled "Shaman," is a particularly good example because it shows a pattern of shifts which could be the "archetype" of Kingston's experiences with language. It is an extended conversation between Kingston and her mother on one occasion of her return home as an adult. Her mother comes to her bedroom late, sits at the daughter's bedside until Kingston awakes from her pretense of sleep. I quote only the first part:

> "What's the matter, Mama? Why are you sitting there?"
>
> She reached over and switched on a lamp she had placed on the floor beside her. "I swallowed that LSD pill you left on the kitchen counter," she announced.
>
> "That wasn't LSD, Mama. It was just a cold pill. I have a cold."
>
> "You're always catching colds when you come home. You must be eating too much *yin*. Let me get you another quilt."

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"No, no more quilts. You shouldn't take pills that aren't prescribed for you. 'Don't eat pills you find on the curb,' you always told us."

"You children never tell me what you're really up to. How else am I going to find out what you're up to?" As if her head hurt, she closed her eyes behind the gold wire rims. "Aiaa," she sighed, "how can I bear to have you leave me again?"[12]

The first exchange clearly relies upon implicature for its effectiveness. Kingston seems to assume that "I swallowed the LSD pill . . . " is meant as a reply to "What's the matter . . . ?" Her knowledge of context supplies the connection: LSD is a know hallucinogen. Her mother probably has never experienced the effects of such drugs, so she's worried about the onset of hallucinations. Kingston's answer, therefore, correcting her mother's information, replies to her presumed worry.

The second exchange shifts the subject to the daughter's health. It begins with direct assertion: "You're always catching colds when you come home." It is apparently merely a comment on Kingston's assertion that she has a cold, but her reply is built on an implied judgment: you have a cold, you need to know why, you need help, I am the person to give you that help. The shift of subject involves an interesting shift of implicature from the assumption that Kingston can give information and help to the assumption that her mother can.

In the third exchange, the daughter shifts back to the original subject, advising her mother not to "take pills that aren't prescribed for you," and shifting again the assumption about who can give help, but this time identifying that help with the authority of the mother herself ("you always told us"). In her response, the mother now consistently recurs to indirect speech acts. While she seems to ask only for information, she really expresses a wish: she does not really want her daughter's suggestion of ways to find out what she's up to, or of ways to bear having her leave again. This is an indirection to hide her vulnerability, but it does not even accomplish this goal completely, since asking these questions depends upon the assumption that her daughter, not she, has the answers. In this verbal joust, it is an admission of defeat.

It should be clear from this discussion that the operations of the cooperative principle and implicature do not preclude self-contradiction, competition, or duplicity, but rather form the material from which these modes of self-protection can be linguistically constructed. By systematically searching for the implicatures which explain how each speaker's contribution is a response to the other's, we can provide a subtext which illuminates the relationships and conflicts the author is re-creating. Speech act theory points to the subtext of the conversa-

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tion, the barely suppressed concerns that are communicated. In addition, as it would in the analysis of a real-life conversation, it points to the listener's activity as an interpreter. In this view, the autobiographer is not originally a maker *of* speech acts, but an audience *for* speech acts—from her family, her acquaintances, in short, from a community to which she is attempting gradually to assimilate. To take this view is to recognize the complexity that besets her attempts at assimilation.

The subtext of the conversations carries the recurring motifs of the autobiography: power (usually by means of language), vulnerability to an outcast and alien state (often to a state of silence). That these can coexist in the same person Kingston only comes to know with that part of herself sensitive to the subtext, the part of her that has only gradually come to understand the system of implicature of her immigrant Chinese family. They seem contradictions to her young self, at times resolved only by assigning to her mother the power, to herself the alien and outcast state. Thus, throughout the book she attempts to overcome this dichotomy and to identify herself with her mother's power by getting her mother's approval, turning in despair to her teachers, in this scene (now an adept with words herself) gaining, as the rest of the scene clearly shows, her mother's grudging recognition of a power akin to her own, but at the price of consigning her mother to the outcast state.

The speech act analysis of such conversations in the autobiography has the same effect that such analysis of conversations in fiction would have; it convinces us of the verisimilitude of the author's technique. But in both fiction and non-fiction, such true-sounding conversations conceal the construction in the author's work; because the motifs, which are the structure of meaning in the work, arise from the implicatures, they arise, so to speak, in the same way that a speaker's meaning becomes apparent to a listener in a natural (as opposed to a literary) context.

But I want to make it clear that the analysis does not simply transfer to a literary what we might find in a non-literary conversation, though it does at least that. It is necessary to understand the sources of Kingston's verisimilitude in order to understand what we find in the technique of Kingston's larger narrative structures. As Pratt points out, the implicatures provided by any one speaker or even of the narrator in the literary work are not necessarily the same as those of the implied author.[13] We must distinguish between the implicatures of the literary conversation and the implicatures of the discourse as a whole. The for-

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mer, as I have indicated, arise in a way exactly parallel to those of the real life which they imitate. The latter arise in accordance with maxims similar to those associated with the co-operative principle of conversation, but modified by the fact that they are literary and, further, by the particular genre in which the utterances occur. Literary utterances are display texts, according to Pratt, which means that they differ from conversation in that the listener cannot answer the speaker. The conversation is one-sided. Having in a sense relinquished his right to interrupt, the listener expects the speaker's monologue to be worthwhile—to have value as entertainment, to have point. For a speaker in the literary work to be obscure or irrelevant or to lie is not the same as for the author herself; it does not cause a breakdown in communication but becomes part of the author's implied intention—as we have seen. The author too may deliberately "flout" these maxims, but cannot forget them and must make it clear that the flouting is deliberate and related to that intention.[14]

The intention which the reader construes for the author, however, is related to the genre of the work. (What genre a work belongs to is a piece of information which Pratt says most readers possess before they begin to read.) They will expect autobiography, for instance, to "narrate the story of [the writer's] life and adopt a serious evaluative attitude toward his narrative. . . ."[15] As Pratt does for novels, so we might construct for autobiography a series of inferences concerning the application of the conversational maxims to the genre. Among these I would suggest that the conversational maxim of quality, requiring that the writer say what is true, is generally expected of autobiography to the extent that the events narrated should seem to be true, that is, should have verisimilitude. Certainly it is difficult to say what all readers expect of autobiography, and it would be presumptuous to say that this inference is an absolute requirement of autobiography, but I think we can posit it as an initial assumption, departure from which must be in keeping with some intention subservient to the more general expectation that the autobiographer will narrate her life and take a serious evaluative attitude toward it. Departures from the maxims for autobiography, therefore, call into play the operation of implicatures in the same way that such departures do for conversation: the reader searches for some bridging assumptions to make sense of the breaches in terms of autobiography.

Thus, in *The Woman Warrior* the reader is startled into such a search when he finds that the narrator, in introducing a story about a

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culture heroine, suddenly shifts from imagining what it would be like to be the heroine (she uses the modal subjunctive "would" through two whole paragraphs, 20) to actually being the heroine (the modal subjunctive is dropped for the indicative past, 21). This procedure flouts the maxim of quality. It not only requires the reader to understand that Kingston identifies herself with Fa Mu Lan but also, insofar as the reader's point-of-view becomes that of the narrator, induces the reader to identify with two different but coincidental "characters."

The Woman Warrior is in great part constituted of stories, ranging in style from myth to family anecdote. Many of these stories, treating of ghosts and immortals and heroic deeds, flagrantly violate our sense of everyday reality. Of course, an author may include such stories in an otherwise non-fictional text. Even if it is a myth or tale she is telling, we simply assume the integrity of that mythical world; its reality does not come into question; we simply do not apply to it the standards of referential truth that would apply to assertions outside of a mythical context.[16] This explanation supposes that the myth or tale, occurring in the context of a different kind of discourse, is represented as different. But Kingston does not simply "include" such stories in her autobiography; she does not, for instance, simply report stories that were told to her. If she did, they would keep their fictional integrity within the autobiographical framework. Rather, even within the tales Kingston merges fictional technique with non-fictional. In the chapter just cited, "White Tigers," she provides all the props of a conventional fairy story—the extraordinary feats of the heroine, the ritual trials, the supernatural aid of immortals and animals—and simultaneously describes her reactions and judgments with the circumstantiality of a personal narrative. It is frankly startling to have her say "I" of the heroine.

In other chapters, she uses other techniques to flout the maxim of quality, but again with deliberate lack of consistency. The lack of consistency itself flouts another maxim, the maxim to avoid ambiguity. One moment the narrator is merged naively in the tale she is reporting; the next she is all concern for the accuracy of her statements. At these moments she tells her reader that she is guessing, she could not possibly know her subjects' motives, she doesn't know what actually happened, or she tries to explain the impossible in terms of the possible. At these times she uses modal auxiliaries, as well as qualifiers such as "probably" and "perhaps," and she questions what she has just reported. Her concern for precise reference to the true state of things

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seems to introduce a judgment from outside the tale. The charmed circle is broken, and the meaning of the story, we find, must somehow be connected with expectations of referential truth.

Chapter one, entitled "No Name Woman," illustrates the point and raises some further implications. It opens with a story Kingston's mother told her about her husband's sister, a young woman who in China committed adultery, and then, after the villagers purged the family household with destruction and pillage, drowned herself and the newborn baby in the family well. After telling the story as her mother has told it, an unadorned though didactic report, Kingston begins to speculate on her aunt's character, amplifying the story so that she may understand it in terms of her own character and circumstances. She tries first the key of Chinese tradition: "My aunt could not have been the lone romantic who gave up everything for sex. Women in the old China did not choose" (6). She tries this unromantic vein, shifting from supposition to assertion: "Perhaps she encountered him in the fields or on the mountain where the daughters-in-law collected fuel" (6). This becomes "The other man was not, after all, much different from her husband. They both gave orders: she followed" (7). Kingston then, abandoning this tack, tries to connect the aunt with herself, and adopts a more sentimental diction. Again she shifts from supposition: ". . . perhaps my aunt, my forerunner, caught in a slow life, let dreams grow and fade and after some months or years went toward what persisted" (8), to unfounded assertion: "She looked at a man because she liked the way the hair was tucked behind his ears . . ." (8).

What implicatures lie behind these shifts? The original story served the mother's didactic purpose: now that her daughter has entered puberty, the story must be told, so that she will be wary of sex and constantly recall her responsibility not to disgrace her family; the story is a warning. Kingston's several retellings of the story indicate, in a way similar to the operation of implicature in the conversations, that the listener has "purposes" in listening to the narrative, in addition to comprehending the surface meaning, even in addition to comprehending the underlying intention of the speaker. The shifts dramatize the process by which, filling in the blanks, she makes the stories of others her own: the willfulness of the aunt had to receive sympathy, because Kingston found she herself was considered willful. It had to be a story about the power of silence, because in her alien culture, she herself remained silent. It had to be about "the rare urge west" (8), because that was the urge she felt herself punished for. Kingston's rendition of

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this story corresponds to her own needs determined in large part by an environment different from that in which the events occurred and different as well from that in which her mother believes she is telling the story.

As I have said, autobiography is an interpretation, even a construction of the life, though some autobiographies purvey an illusion of reality by the same technique that a novel does. But if Kingston wanted to create this illusion (and in some places the illusion is compelling), why does she shift so ostentatiously between what one could call fictional discourse and non-fictional or referential discourse? By doing so, she seems to be *trying* to involve our judgment of what fiction and non-fiction are. She calls attention to the process of construction, making the reader understand it as a continuous revision because he engages in continuous re-vision as a process of reading it. The autobiography is not simply a record of her interpretation of her life, but is an enactment of the struggle to construct.

To accomplish this effect, she must show that the language of autobiography is continuous with the language of the community. I am helped to this conclusion by the thesis of Pratt's study—that is, the continuity between literary and non-literary discourse. Her thesis rests upon the identity of kinds of speech acts—promising, ordering, thanking, and so on—to be found in literature and in life and explains why the distinctions between fiction and non-fiction are obscure. The audience obviously expects something different from discourse they know to be fiction, and to an extent Pratt grants Richard Ohmann's 1971 observations: "It is true," she says, "that literary works are speech acts which are on exhibit. Literary works indeed do not 'carry on the world's business' in the same way many other kinds of speech acts do, and this fact does encourage us to respond aesthetically and emotively to literary texts."[17] But, Pratt points out, such characteristics are not peculiar to literature. "Fictivity" is to be found outside literature, and not simply in those forms which may be said to imitate literature, such as jokes, ads, and political parables. Verbal play, hypothetical situations, assumptions, speculations, plannings, and wishings occur outside literature too and all of these suspend "normal illocutionary force."

Literary discourse may be fiction or non-fiction; but so too may non-literary discourse. Kingston at one point complains to her mother, "you won't tell me a story and then say, 'This is a true story,' or 'this is just a story.' I can't tell the difference," (202). Without any identifying label, how can the hearer know that a discourse is fiction or non-fic-

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tion? If one contains the same kinds of speech acts as the other, and if fictivity is to be found in literature and non-literature, what guides the listener/reader's response? Obviously, in both literature and non-literature, reference to something in the listener's experience or environment can be verified, and, if the discourse is implausible enough, of course it will be fiction. But implausibility is a slippery criterion, for context could refer not simply to objects and events represented in the utterance, but to the *use* of the utterance. Thus, an argument is a context where a hypothetical (fictive) statement is "bound by truth commitments." A culture is a context; and "epics and myths, which are understood as historical fact in the culture which engendered them, are often treated as fiction in other cultures."[18] The hypothetical statement may not correspond to real events, but it must reflect an intention to arrive at the true nature of things. Myths, even when taken as fiction, have a relationship to some body of accepted truths and thus point to what is real for that community. This is why Kingston throws tantrums when she hears the villagers reiterate the old sayings: "There's no profit in raising girls. Better to raise geese than girls" (46).

The stories Kingston was told are often implausible. But the point is not whether the young Kingston will learn the difference between fictional and non-fictional statements, but how she will come to terms with their subtext. Such labels as "fiction" and "non-fiction," "true" and "not true" form part of the language of power, having little to do with actual verification. They signify her willingness or unwillingness to accept what the stories tell her of her role and her worth; they signify whether she capitulates to her mother's authority. A case in point occurs in the third chapter, "Shaman." There the story of a ghost appearance and of her mother's conquest of the ghost is embedded in her mother's point-of-view, with which Kingston seems at that moment to identify herself. When she shifts from reporting to qualifying the report, the terms are ambiguous, such as "I think my mother said [after they drove out the ghost with fire and smoke] that under the foot of the bed the students found a piece of wood dripping with blood" (75). Kingston's construction casts doubt on her memory more than on the facts of the story; she seems to offer the criterion of referentiality and yet to be satisfied the criterion has been met. Not only does she give few signals that her point-of-view differs from her mother's, she offers validation to her mother's report by means of known, though only tangential facts: Her mother *did* take courses at the school where the ghost appeared; Maxine saw the diploma. In her encounter with

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the ghost, her mother *must* have lost her spirit for a time, since she did lose her home village and did not find her husband for fifteen years. In short, she provides other circumstances as a context to validate the implausible.

Kingston finally rejects the story on the level of referentiality by means of a second cultural context. The world outside the Chinese-American community questions and then undermines the value of Chinese custom. The language of America, unlike that of the China Kingston knows, is mathematics and science, "plastics, periodical tables, and TV dinners with vegetables no more complex than peas mixed with diced carrots" (204). The ghost stories may have been accepted as fact in an earlier China, but the transplanted Chinese cannot maintain the coherence of their world view against the onslaught of pharmacists, teachers, and social workers, whose reality in the children's lives defies the parents' classification of these intruders as "ghosts."

But when Kingston rejects the story on the level of referentiality, she is rejecting it on another level as well. Though the new cultural context may offer statements of superior verifiability, it also accepts Kingston as her own culture does not. She succeeds in school; her teachers praise her. M. A. K. Halliday, a British linguist interested in children's acquisition of language, demonstrates that for children language is understood primarily in terms of its *functions* (and perhaps this is true of adults as well). Moreover, utterances have more functions than that of representing reality; they also enable interactions, delineate groups, define the self in relation to groups, and express imaginative structures.[19] I think we can see these emerging from the subtexts we have analyzed. Most of the stories Kingston hears, for example, tell her that the woman is a slave. Kingston responds not to the supposed question of factuality, but to the ability of these stories to deny her power and to build a group in which she as female can have only minimal worth. Kingston assaults (and as an author makes us aware of the absurdity of assaulting) the truth of her mother's utterances *because* they are used to degrade. Not the other way about; she does not attack their use because they are literally not true. In short, context is a relative and rich criterion—not only the physical facts will determine whether a statement is judged to be true, but the cultural and individual use to which the statement is put will affect the judgment. This is because so few assertions outside of scientific discourse are used simply to refer; they are always used to do something else as well.

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The co-existence of multiple functions as a context for communication also defines the language of autobiography for Kingston as an imaginative use of language continuous with the use of language in everyday life. Despite her apparently explicit refusal of her community ("I had to leave home in order to see the world logically, logic the new way of seeing," 204), she continues to "sort out" and "find out" what in that world was true and in what way it continues to be true.[20] She does not reject the stories, she tries to trace their threads in the fabric of her self. Thus, the autobiography contains all of the versions of the aunt's story because that multiplicity is Kingston's point: the old story does not simply disappear once we have ventured our own design. It remains (and so do others we have made) to compete for our allegiance, as do all the selves we have formulated, along with the selves others have formulated for us. Her imaginative re-working of this language is an ongoing process, a process that does not occur alone but in, with, and against her community, and is a testament to the capacity of imaginative language to pattern the diversity and contradiction of our everyday language.

Pepperdine University

NOTES

1. Mary Louise Pratt, *Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977).
2. See James Olney, *Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 3–38, and James Olney, "Some Versions of Memory/Some Versions of *Bios:* The Ontology of Autobiography"; Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography," trans. James Olney; and Barret J. Mandel, "Full of Life Now," all three in James Olney, ed., *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 236–267, 28–48, and 49–72 respectively.
3. Elizabeth W. Bruss in her excellent study, *Autobiographical Acts* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), creates a framework for her study also indebted to the work of Searle and Austin, but she pursues a different line of inquiry (the continuity and changes in autobiography as a genre), and the speech act framework is not often prominent in her explications of several autobiographies.
4. Pratt, 3–37.
5. John R. Searle, *Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 33–41 and 55–61.
6. The quoted phrase is from Gusdorf, 37.
7. Pratt, 129, quoting from H. Paul Grice, *Logic and Conversation* (William James Lectures, Harvard University, 1967, Unpublished manuscript), 2:2.

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8. Pratt, 130, based on Grice, 2:7.
9. Pratt, 155.
10. Pratt, 154.
11. John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 117–136.
12. Maxine Hong Kingston, *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1977), 100. All citations hereafter will be made within the text.
13. Pratt, 165.
14. Pratt, 162–175.
15. Pratt, 176.
16. Searle, *Expression and Meaning,* 64–70.
17. Pratt, 90–91.
18. Pratt, 98.
19. M. A. K. Halliday, *Explorations in the Functions of Language* (London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1973), 11–17 and 34–44.
20. Indeed, not all the stories tell her that the woman is helpless. The tale of Fa Mu Lan, for instance, shows the woman vanquishing all her enemies. This theme may explain why the narrator gradually merges with the mythical figure. And even in the tale of her mother's school days, the subtext points as much to the power of women as to the authority of her mother and may explain the narrator's hesitation to undercut the "truth" of that story.

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WILSON SNIPES

A Preliminary to Literary Biography: The Chronicle Collection of Selected Documents

I: BACKGROUND

In "Watchman, what of the night?" Walter Pater writes, "Oh! let me live in Thee, or deep in hell,—it seems so awful not to be."[1] For Pater even life with the eternally damned is preferred over that "awful" state of non-being. His personal cry reechoes in biographers' efforts to find humanistic value and meaning in human life itself, independent of the eternal salvation, purgatory, or damnation. The biographer's aim is one of restoring life, of bringing past being back into some kind of being in the present, usually through one or a combination of biographical methods.[2]

Between the subject's individual documents (letters, essays, poems, novels, and such) and biography *per se* lie the methods chroniclers use to offer a selective and representative through incomplete portrait of a subject. Thus a chronicler may represent his subject by thematic selections from among his writings to present his views on art, religion, criticism, and similar concerns, by writings in a particular genre form such as letters, plays, poems, fiction, by his correspondence with a specific person or the correspondence of both to show interrelationships, by representative selections from all of the works of the particular subject, by manuscript evolution and editions of specific works, by specific writings to show the subject's relationships with family or friends or publishers, by selections to show a chronology of works in progress, by selections from personal prose, by selections from among imagina-

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tive works. In short, collections of selected documents are as various as the purposes for which the collections are made.

In these remarks I intend to consider briefly some of the strengths and weaknesses of four methods of representing a literary biographical subject through the chronicle collection of selected documents. The *"log"* method is represented by Jay Leyda's collection of materials by and related to Herman Melville.[3] The *"autobiographical"* method is used by J. W. Cross in his selections from George Eliot's letters and journals[4] and Stanley Weintraub through his chronological juxtapositions of selections from the nonfictional and nondramatic works of George Bernard Shaw.[5] The *epistolary* method reflects various uses: Elaine Steinbeck and Robert Wallsten discover that they have given a "narrative" life of John Steinbeck;[6] Linda Gray Sexton and Lois Ames "a balanced picture" of Anne Sexton;[7] Joseph Blotner primarily a better understanding of William Faulkner as an artist;[8] and Marc Chenetier a reassessment of Vachel Lindsay's public image and character.[9] A final method, the method of *representative selections,* is used by John Wain to present Samuel Johnson through both nonfictional and fictional selections.[10]

The chronicler selects documents from the subject's writings to represent or re-create an authentic portrait. The method requires the selection of materials from the subject's written records, extending from diaries, notebooks, letters, memoirs, autobiographies to selections from both nonimaginative and imaginative works, the emphasis given initially to the integrity of the subject's life, his life being the reason for the collection. These materials are usually presented chronologically so that the reader may participate in the evolution of the life from birth to death. The chronicler attempts to establish the factuality, "the truth," of the selected materials through such standard editorial practices as verification, the use of original manuscripts whenever possible, accurate dating of documents, the uses of contextual and referential materials for more exact documentation. In some instances secondary materials are included to provide a clearer perspective and historical framework, such as letters to or about the subject, book reviews of the subject's published works, minutes of clubs he joined, anecdotes and reminiscences about him, even extracts from works he may have read at a particular time. In general the chronicler will keep his own remarks to a minimum in the text, allowing the selections to speak for the subject and his times. Without exception the chronicler will state his aims in his particular collection in a few introductory comments.

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II: The "Log" Method

Jay Leyda has used the "log" method—"to record the essentials" of a life's "latitude and longitude, or its weather, course, whales captured or whales merely seen"[11]—in his chronicles of the lives of Modeste Petrovich Mussorgsky, Melville, and Emily Dickinson. His aim in the Mussorgsky collection of documents was one of "gathering and arranging in chronological order all the known nonmusical facts of his life"; he observes, "Our popularizing writers have surpassed even Mussorgsky's contemporaries in factual carelessness and misguided opinion."[13] Thirteen years later Leyda said much the same thing about Emily Dickinson's reputation: "*The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson* has been compiled in the conviction that what is presently most needed in the study of the life and works of this enigmatic poet, who has been the subject of so much distorting gossip and legend, is the most factual treatment possible"; hence the collection is "presented with a single aim; to get at the truth of Emily Dickinson."[14] Leyda disavows any biographical objective in this collection: "The reconstruction of her life that this book offers is not a substitute for biography; it presents the materials without attempting to build them into a comprehensive structure."[15] However Leyda does not enunciate the principles by which selections are made that establish a reconstructed but uninterpreted factuality, though he does acknowledge "A greater danger [than combatting "biographical simplification"] is that a reconstruction employing documents of all degrees of relevance appears deceptively continuous and complete: it is neither."[16]

Between the Mussorgsky and the Dickinson collections Leyda presented a more detailed description of the "log" method in *The Melville Log: A Documentary Life of Herman Melville.* He stated as his "main aim" that of giving "each reader the opportunity to be his own biographer of Herman Melville, by providing him with the largest quantity of materials to build his own approach to this complex figure." He continued, "The only way I knew to do this was to put together everything that could be known about this life. . . ." He explained that his method precluded emphasis or weighted selection among the materials (although his practice is in part one of selection): "This approach forbade an emphasis on any part of his life to the exclusion of any part, and forbade the neglect of material that seemed, in itself, of small importance." The chronicler provides materials for interpretative biography, such as Leon Howard's study of Melville, based in part on Leyda's materials, a biography Howard described as "complementary" to Leyda's chronological selections.

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In this instance Leyda based his "factual reconstruction" on a "simple chronology of events," a documentary method he and Sergei Bertensson had used earlier in representing the facts of Mussorgsky's nonmusical life, and on "a wide variety of source materials." He notes that each document required analytical judgment, that the continuity must be viewed skeptically, and that "the absence of information . . . may be as significant as that which is present." Finally, he observes that the chronicle form has a special power: "the relation *between* two documents, *among* a cluster of documents, tells us far more than we would ever have guessed by examining them singly," not only about Melville's life but also about the historical climate in which he lived.

Later he added that he had made selections from among Melville's "markings and notes" in books the author had read, that he had made selections from among Melville's imaginative works since these portions "provide insights into Melville's views of an event or his artistic manipulation of it," and that he had used ellipses since "Documents are rarely quoted in their entirety."

The case Leyda makes for the "log" method of collected documents is a strong one, but the abiding question is whether or not a reader can be his own biographer of Melville, given the "factual" materials provided. In other words, can the aim Leyda stated be realized through the collected documentary method he used?

Throughout the *Log,* but primarily in volume one, Leyda extracts selections from Melville's imaginative works to suggest relationships between the author's life and what he was writing at the time. For example, he extracts nine selections from *Pierre* to exemplify life relationships, such as the following:

> At length, domestic matters—rent and bread—had come to such a pass with him, that whether or no, the first pages must go to the printer; and thus was added still another tribulation; because the printed pages now dictated to the following manuscript, and said to all subsequent thoughts and inventions of Pierre—*Thus and thus; so and so; else an ill match.* Therefore, was his book already limited, bound over and committed to imperfection, even before it had come to any confirmed form or conclusion at all. Oh, who shall reveal the horrors of poverty in authorship that is high? (Pierre, xxv, iii)[18]

This extract offers two primary notions: that poverty and the need for money forced Pierre to send the first pages of his incomplete manuscript to the printer, and that such a procedure "dictated to the following manuscript," limiting the creative options of the writer. At this time, when Melville was writing *Moby Dick,* he wrote to Hawthorne,

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"Dollars damn me, and the malicious Devil is forever grinning upon me, holding the door ajar."[19] However, in context, though part of the manuscript of *Moby Dick* was in press before it was complete on 29 June 1851, there is no contextual suggestion that submission of a partial manuscript had governed the subsequent imaginative choices of the author.[20] That Melville had been and was in financial straits requires no confirmation from his fiction; that Pierre's disinheritance led to poverty is a fictional matter not found in Melville's life circumstances.

Leyda's method of using "illustrative" passages from Melville's fiction invites other observations. For example, he places selections from *Pierre* in the *Log* during the years 1847, 1848, and 1851, although the work itself is primarily a product of the years 1851–52, suggesting transpositions from one place to another in the author's life. No clear principles emerge as the bases of Leyda's choices of fictional extracts. For example, he introduces the following extract from *Pierre:*

> As every evening, after his day's writing was done, the proofs of the beginning of his work came home for correction, Isabel would read them to him. They were replete with errors; but preoccupied by the thronging, and undiluted, pure imaginings of things, he became impatient of such minute, gnat-like torments; he randomly corrected the worst, and let the rest go; jeering with himself at the rich harvest thus furnished to the entomological critics. (Pierre, xxi, iii)[21]

But in the life context there is no evidence that Melville is reading proofs or has become impatient with such reading, though such a complaint is a commonplace among authors. There is little or no opportunity or basis offered by the *Log* for a reader to develop an interpretation of the nature and character of Melville's imaginative life.

Something Leyda might have done in the service of biographical aims, a characteristic of some of Trollope's fiction, and occasional in Melville's, would have been to include extracts from the fiction in which an authorial voice or persona is suggested, such as the following from the chapter entitled "Young Literature in America" in *Pierre:*

> Among the various conflicting modes of writing history, there would seem to be two grand practical distinctions, under which all the rest must subordinately range. By the one mode, all contemporaneous circumstances, facts, and events must be set down as the general stream of the narrative shall dictate; for matters which are kindred in time, may be very irrelative in themselves. I elect neither of these; I am careless of either; both are well enough in their way; I write precisely as I please.[22]

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Here Melville makes a set of comments about his method of composition as he perceived it at this time in his career: "I write precisely as I please." Such a view contributes to the biographer's perception of Melville's attitude as author.

Perhaps Leyda himself is the best critic of the method, for he recognizes certain weaknesses of the method. In his endnote, "The Endless Study," he acknowledges what he calls "my sins of omission" by listing specific research work that must be done to make a more complete documentary record of Melville's life, including various correspondences, detailed knowledge of the lives and relationships of friends and acquaintances to Melville, and records not yet unearthed or examined about Melville's activities, such as his publications in newspapers.[23] He juxtaposes both personal and published selections from Melville's writings, combining the "life and works" materials into a factual chronology without regard for the larger intellectual and imaginative continuity of the author's life. Among these selections he intersperses the perceptions of others from their writings, diaries and letters especially, as well as notations from various records, materials that may be informational but are somewhat marginal in assisting a reader to interpret Melville's life. Finally, Leyda disavows any scholarly objective—"Although the book is not, principally, addressed to scholars, it may function for them as a guide to the basic materials, and a help to digging in them," yet it is difficult to believe that the common reader will wade through the uninterpreted selections; in fact, Howard's "complementary" study of Melville, based on Leyda, is a narrative biography intended for an informed audience and in many ways for Melville specialists.

One reviewer has described Leyda's collections as "a new biographical technique in America,"[24] but the more traditional collections, such as John Milton French's *Life Records of John Milton,*[25] offers the same kinds of materials with contextual commentary on the scholarly and critical acceptances or rejections and interpretations of the documents, a method that gives each reader a focus on the materials.

Lest one think that I am unduly harsh in my comments about Leyda's method, I must insist that his work represent yeoman's service to Melville scholarship, for he brought together for the first time materials that may be used, as did Howard, by narrative and critical biographers for interpretive lives. Moreover, although I adjudge the absence of contextual commentary based on the critical tradition of Melville scholarship a weakness of the method, for some readers the absence may be a greater strength, for it leaves them, as Leyda indicated, the

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freedom of offering their own focuses and interpretations. However, I do not believe Leyda's collection will enable each reader to be his own interpreter of Melville's life: Melville's letters[26] offer a clearer perception of his personal life and his published works of his imaginative life. Although no composite life can be created from the collection of selected documents, Leyda's method of collecting and selecting documents from a variety of sources indicates directions later biographers might take in reinterpreting Melville's life. It may be true, as Howard P. Vincent suggested, "The Melville Log will be the foundation of all future Melville biography. . . ."[27] That judgment is subject to the aims of such biographers.

III: The "Autobiographical" Method

Late in the last century J. W. Cross attempted to represent his subject (and wife), George Eliot, through selections from her letters and journals chronologically arranged and with a slight sketch of her childhood and elucidations of the correspondence.[28] He states as his aim that of forming "an *autobiography* (if the term may be permitted) of George Eliot." Of course the term *"autobiography"* will not do, for Eliot's letters and journals are very different in content and form from those matters she might have included in an autobiography; moreover, to best show the development of her intellect and character, her actions, non-letters-journals materials, and literary works might better support such an objective; and, finally, the contexts within which she lived might better provide the reader with a clearer framework within which to understand her choices, conflicts, and judgments.

Biographers use autobiographies for biographical purposes, but they use them circumspectly, critically and analytically evaluating and interpreting the validity and meanings of the subject's self-perceptions. For example, Julian Symons rejects almost *in toto* one version Poe presents of his own life.[29] However, Cross accurately presents Eliot in the tradition of selective chronicle biography. He explains:

> The life has been allowed to write itself in extracts from her letters and journals. Free from the obtrusion of any mind but her own, this method serves, I think, better than any other open to me, to show the development of her intellect and character.

One may question whether or not the extractive method, limited to letters and journals, is a better method than others through which to show the intellectual and character development of the subject as "woman, as well as . . . author," but Cross is right when he says that

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they show "the side of the affections," the "intimate life" to some extent. However, when he suggests that the extracts combine to give "a narrative of day-to-day life with the play of light and shade, which only letters written in various moods, can give," he is using day-to-day in a limited sense and is ignoring other documents and actions which might better reflect the intellect and character of his subject. Cross has assigned to his "subject" a very limited and selected set of documentary and biographical meanings. One might consider the problem contextually when entertaining the same documentary problem Michael Holroyd faced in selecting for his biography among 30,000 letters written "from, to, and about" Lytton Strachey.[30]

There is no question that the extracts from letters, diaries, and journals provide essential information for a life. In the "autobiography" Eliot discusses the backgrounds of much of her fiction, her reactions to her wide and extensive reading of other authors, her changing and emerging views on women's rights, her concepts of romance and tragedy, but she discusses mostly her day-to-day personal situations and conflicts. Moreover, Cross' comments, recollections, and interpolations add to our perceptions of her life and career. However, such a method does not provide us with an "autobiography."

The following extract from one of Eliot's letters to John Blackwood on the subject of biography is illustrative:

> Poor Dickens's latter years wear a melancholy aspect, do they not? But some of the extracts from his letters in the last volume have surprisingly more freshness and naturalness of humor than any of the letters earlier given. Still, something should be done by dispassionate criticism towards the reform of our national habits in the matter of literary biography. Is it not odious that as soon as a man is dead his desk is raked, and every insignificant memorandum, which he never meant for the public, is printed for the gossiping amusement of people too idle to re-read his books? "He gave the people of his best. His worst he kept, his best he gave;" but there is a certain set, not a small one, who are titillated by the worst and indifferent to the best. I think this fashion is a disgrace to us all. It is something like the uncovering of the dead Byron's club-foot.[31]

Here Eliot expresses her view that an author's works should speak for the writer, not "every insignificant memorandum" found among his unpublished papers. Her views on biography, such as the statement above and her occasional judgments of writers of biography, such as Renan's life of Jesus, contribute to a life writer's understanding of her life but in no way offer a substitute for the analyses and judgments a life writer must make to develop a full-fledged biography. In fact, the

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very memoranda she rejects may offer crucial insights into a life not found elsewhere in the published fiction and nonfiction. Cross' "autobiographical" method does give the life writer another resource from which to draw materials for a life; moreover, in adding a running commentary Cross himself adds additional information for the biographer.

More recently on a larger scale than Cross' chronicle Stanley Weintraub has selected materials for an "autobiographical" representation of George Bernard Shaw: "Autobiographical intention (rather than private confession) was the sole criterion for admissibility of material."[32]

Except for chapter headings, he continued, "the words themselves —as everywhere else in the *Autobiography*—are Shaw's own adapted from his nonfiction and nondramatic prose."[33] In his introductory comments, "G.B.S. Sketches for a Self-Portrait,"[34] Weintraub examines Shaw's attitudes toward autobiography and the sources from which autobiographical materials may be selected, including Shaw's substitutes for formal autobiography, *Shaw Gives Himself Away* (1939) and *Sixteen Self Sketches* (1949) which in no way constitute formal autobiography. Weintraub's collection of selected documents is a substitute for the autobiography Shaw never wrote. However, the chronicler makes use of one of Shaw's self-perceptions to explain the method: "Only when I can make a case of myself, economic, artistic, sociologic, or what not, can I make literary use of myself. . . ." And thus he wrote his autobiography "all his life." Apart from the overt and covert uses Shaw made of his experiences in his early novels and plays, Weintraub believes Shaw wrote his autobiography through his diaries, journals, letters, revisions and corrections of biographies in process, prefaces to plays, and drama and music criticism including a leaflet on trade unionism, introductions or postscripts to books, BBC talks, Fabian essays and lectures, City Temple sermons, periodical and newspaper journalism, letters-to-the-editor, and "confessions."

Unlike Leyda who attempted to present in his "log" "everything that could be known" about Melville's life and Cross who limited himself to selections from George Eliot's letters and journals, Weintraub attempts to use Shaw's own words for a self-portrait, reserving non-Shavian source materials and comments to the notes sections, and selects and arranges materials from throughout Shaw's nonfiction and nondramatic writings to represent a chronological continuity. Weintraub explains: "This edition reconciles and integrates some of the 'numerous small portions' of raw materials into autobiographical continuity with the larger, more formal segments of memoir."[35]

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Although he does not present in a few pages a brief chronology of Shaw's life and works, a common practice of the selections of documents method, Weintraub gathers into thirty-two chapters Shaw's perceptions of the events of his life, beginning with his childhood and, in Weintraub's title, "Ending as a Sage." In the introduction to the second volume, "a patchwork self-portrait of his [Shaw's] life in the twentieth century," Weintraub adds that "the general perspective must be that of G.B.S. looking at his life from his nineties," that he was "often publicly silent on personal matters he wished to keep private while he inflated other subjects," that there are "blind spots" such as comments on his marriage, politics, travels, and that the later selections "emphasize the progress of the mind as much as the progress of the man." The sources for the second volume, "composed at different times and under vastly varying conditions and levels of inspiration," include "prefaces and program notes to his plays, book reviews, economic and social treaties, lectures and speeches, drafts of articles, interviews based on carefully prepared texts, letters Shaw caused to be published himself, journalism of all kinds including reports as a war correspondent, a variety of autobiographical afterthoughts, and even deliberate, formal autobiography."

Weintraub's method may be illustrated through a brief consideration of the selections he made to develop a chapter entitled "How to Write a Play," a title which suggests that the reader may experience the general Shavian process of composing plays.[36] The selections are devoted to the themes that a playwright writes for actors, that the "act of all fiction . . . is the art of storytelling," and that theatre technique or "theatre sense" is best acquired experientially. Many of the talents and skills required for dramatic and theatrical representation are excluded or only mentioned in the chapter, such as characterization, plot conflicts, settings, and such. Moreover, the selections extend from single sentences taken out of contexts, such as the two opening sentences of the chapter, one selected from Shaw's essay "The Play of Ideas," *New Statesman and Nation* of May 5, 1950, and the second from the "Preface" to "The Apple Cart" (1928), to over five paragraphs selected from the "Preface" to "Great Catherine" (1913). The result is neither autobiography nor extented discourse on the process of dramatized theatrical creation: it is indeed a patchwork. A systematic examination of the prefaces to Shaw's plays, his essays on other plays and playwrighting, and his plays themselves would of course provide a sounder basis for Shaw's theories and practices of creation.

Weintraub's collection of Shavian documents has the relative

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strengths of the first person voice speaking throughout, the placing of the documents in a semi-chronological pattern or "continuity" of Shaw's life, the juxtapositions of related recollections and reflections, the variety of selection from the vast body of Shavian materials: the collection is pure Shaw. But, as Weintraub observed, there is a general instead of a consistent point of view, for the selected recollections and memoirs were written at various times during Shaw's life. Through the "Notes" the chronicler provides some contextual and referential information, but the selections, unlike Sagar's chronicling of the sources of D. H. Lawrence's work in the text,[37] are essentially homogeneous only as they reflect Shaw's views of particular episodes of his life, arranged without note being made of the day-to-day and year-to-year evolution of his life. Hence a factual chronology is beyond the scope of the selections, resulting in a relative and interesting but not necessarily accurate representation of Shaw's growth. Moreover, interpolated comments about Shaw's imaginative life would have added to the scope of the "autobiography." Despite these weaknesses Weintraub's use of the collection of documents method in this instance offers one possible starting place for subsequent biographers.

IV: The Epistolary Method

In the "Preface" to *Steinbeck: A Life in Letters,* Elaine Steinbeck and Robert Wallsten describe the more than two-year process they followed in the preparation of an epistolary life, beginning with the collection of "several thousand letters," particularly from "large collections," such as "the more than six hundred letters covering a span of forty-odd years to Elizabeth Otis," those to his college roommate Carlton A. Shefield, and those to his editor Pascal Covinci.[38] These letters, they stated, "were the nucleus." Next they sought other letters or photocopies of them from persons who had congratulated Steinbeck on the Nobel Prize recognition in 1962 and those who had sent condolences when he died. At this stage they received many letters but also some refusals, such as those from dealers who said "publication would lower the market value of the originals." Then an objective was established: "a volume designed for the general public with no pretensions to inclusiveness," setting a length to the life of a single volume and designating an audience of the general public as distinguished from other audiences.

If the letters "were to trace Steinbeck's development as man and writer, his letters must be evaluated and presented chronologically," a decision that established a focus of meaning in the life and a method of

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presenting the subject's development. Assigning dates to undated letters followed, a process the compilers called "tricky business." The selection process included the rejection of "duty" letters, more answers, "some whose impact had been dulled by the passage of time," and "almost all material that had been published before," this latter a significant decision because of the materials excluded. This step was followed by the abbreviation of "a good number" of letters, excluding passages when Steinbeck "rambled, repeated, or mentioned matters that readers might find obscure."

Still the overriding question has not been answered: on what basis were letters finally accepted for or rejected from the life? The compilers state: "There has been only one criterion throughout: is it interesting?" Such a criterion is highly subjective, but perhaps in this instance it should be, for the compilers are in part projecting their view, although never developed formally, of the subject. They followed, they add, two of Steinbeck's precepts, to avoid "references that might hurt feelings of some living person," and to recognize that "they do give it a bite." Especially revelatory, and contrary to the generally agreed biographical process of having some plan before commencing the writing of a biography,[39] the compilers tell us that "it was not till we reread a nearly completed first draft that, with some astonishment, we saw the real nature of the book": "It was a narrative. . . ." Steinbeck had in these letters "written the story of his life."

Of course Steinbeck's letters do not tell the "story of his life." What they do tell us are specific things about his relationships with those he chose as correspondents, his immediate situations, and those thoughts and concerns he chose to share with those to whom he wrote, extending from over six hundred letters to Elizabeth Otis, friend and literary agent (approximately one hundred twenty-five are in the collection), to a single letter to Willim A. Gilfrey, a total stranger. The biographical questions involve the determinations of what specifically a letter or a series of letters will contribute to the large narrative threads of an interpretive life.

For example, Jackson J. Benson in his recent biography of Steinbeck comments on the place of the letters in determining the character of Steinbeck's intellectual life: "For all his talk about his work in his letters and other private documents, he really tells very little about what he is thinking, what he is aiming for, and what he means. Throughout his career he had his secrets, and he kept them rather well from even his closest friends."[40] Benson uses other sources, such as Steinbeck's early background, his relationships with Ed Ricketts and

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Ricketts' writings, the lectures and essays of Harold Chapman Brown of Stanford, readings in Greek history and philosophy, and interpretations of literary works to establish the nature of Steinbeck's intellectual life.

Although I have followed somewhat intensively the process Steinbeck-Wallsten describe in their preface, I have done so to illustrate concretely the complexities the biographer as compiler faces in this early state of establishing a subject in the larger biographical process. They had to make critical judgments at every state in the process: to establish the criterion of what they found interesting, to determine specific but unstated and unrecognized threads of narrative development, to exclude previously published materials which may have contributed substantially to the evolving and final portrait of Steinbeck as man and writer. Abbreviations leave gaps, raise questions, challenge the scholar-biographer who may find such exclusions quite significant and revelatory. Moreover, the compilers' discovery that they had put together a "narrative" not merely a chronology stimulates the reader to ask for specifics: what specifically, other than the fact the letters were written by Steinbeck, translated the chronology into a narrative? Of course the compilers have chosen, and quite rightly I believe in this instance, to leave the answers to that question to the readers.

In many ways the chronicle biographer's aims establish the principles of selection he follows in choosing materials from the corpus of a writer's personal and professional works. Using the epistolary method, Linda Gray Sexton and Lois Ames in their *Anne Sexton: A Self-Portrait in Letters* set as their goal that of presenting "a balanced picture of Anne's life as we now understand it."[41] Unfortunately they do not develop and clarify their notion of a balanced picture. After sifting through "over 50,000 pieces of paper," what they call "a documentary of her life"—letters, "boxes of pictures, scrapbooks, invitations, and dance cards," they selected "only the best and most representative letters" to reflect their idea of a balanced picture of Anne's life.

Apart from the vagueness of the stated aim, a number of objections immediately occur to the critical reader. A balanced picture of a literary figure, assuming that the aim means not only the evolution of a life but also the depth and variety of that life, cannot be represented by letters only, independent of his published and unpublished creative works. In his study of James Joyce, Richard Ellman has demonstrated repeatedly the interactions between and among daily experiences and creative work, representing Joyce as both "the captive and liberator":

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"he shapes again the experiences which have shaped him. . . . In turn the process of reshaping experience becomes a part of his life, another of its recurrent events like rising or sleeping."[42] Letters too are governed by the degree of formal-informal-intimate relationships that exist between the writer and the respondent, but not necessarily representive of the subject's life as it is revealed in diaries, notebooks, autobiographies or in essays, speeches, and lectures, extending from the deeply felt and known to the publicly stated and revealed. Although letters will offer a partial portrait of Sexton's personal life, they will not fulfill the chroniclers' aim of a balanced picture.

For example, among the letters written between 1963–1974 we find that the chroniclers have included four letters from Sexton to James Dickey (perhaps all she wrote to him, but there is no way of knowing). There are also seven references she made to him in letters to others, such as references to his review of *All My Pretty Ones* in the *New York Times,* to him as her "arch enemy," and comparisons of the lecture fees she received to those given Dickey. The chroniclers include a selection from Dickey's review and then add: "When the poet Gene Baro encouraged her to ignore Dickey's review, she failed to take his advice to heart, and carried the clipping in her wallet instead."[43] That Dickey's review had a strong impact on Sexton is clear, but the letters themselves offer only partial evidence of this influence and relationship, not a balanced view of the subject.

A different set of epistolary aims is stated by Joseph Blotner in his *Selected Letters of William Faulkner:*

> The main purpose of this collection is to provide a deeper understanding of the artist, to reveal as much as possible what one can see in his letters about his art—its sources, intentions, and process of creation—and beyond that to reveal attitudes, basic to that art: aesthetic, philosophical, social and political. The letters also reveal different facets of the man: his relationship with family and friends and those whom he knew primarily in his capacity as a writer—fellow writers, publishers, editors, agents, directors, producers and readers.[44]

Blotner's basic principles of selection, his guiding conception, is first one of offering a deeper understanding of Faulkner as an artist, next of Faulkner's attitudes toward his art, and finally facets of his character and personality in his private and professional relationships. Of course the publication of previously unpublished letters will add information to the existing knowledge of an author, but whether or not such addi-

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tional information will provide "a deeper understanding" of Faulkner as an artist in this instance is debatable.

For example, much can be gained potentially about Faulkner's creative and critical perceptions through analyses of letters directed toward literary aims: his letters to Malcolm Cowley concerning his values and techniques, for instance, his answers to Cowley's question concerning the purposeful use of symbolism [Nov. 1944]); his letters of criticism, advice, and encouragement to Joan Williams, a young, aspiring writer from Tennessee (note particularly his letter of 29 April 1953 [date uncertain] on the source of his own "amazing gift"); and specific letters to individuals concerning his creative and critical values, such as his responses to Warren Beck's articles on the writer's South, point of view, and style (6 July 1941); his critique of *The Damned Don't cry* as a film script (18 Nov. 1941); his reactions to Richard Wright's *Black Boy* ([probably 11 Sept. 1945]); his judgments of Cass Mastern and Willie Stark in Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*.

However, Faulkner himself has asked that those who would seek to understand better his art focus on his art.[45] On the next level of understanding a collection of selected documents, including letters where relevant, in which Faulkner discusses his art would more appropriately address the question of Blotner's primary aim: the author's lectures and talks about his art, his Nobel prize speech, his recorded conversations about his work, his responses to interviewers who pursued his artistic aims and methods. Such selections chronologically arranged would focus on and reflect more accurately the development of Faulkner's artistic sense.

Blotner's epistolary selections offer an impression of the man-artist Faulkner, but "sources, intentions, and process of creation" are better represented by such a chronicler as Keith Sager in his *D. H. Lawrence: A Calendar of His Works* where the focus is on "the chronological facts" "that show Lawrence's development, both the development of individual works through their various stages or metamorphoses, and the development of his whole oeuvre from one phase to another."[46] An epistolary collection, such as Blotner's, is not the best way to serve the stated primary aim, but it does offer new information and materials for subsequent biographers.

Marc Chenetier's epistolary method, represented by his selection of one hundred ninety-nine letters by Vachel Lindsay, was governed by his wish to call attention to the less well-known nature of Lindsay the man and artist:

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> I hope, however, that the wide variety of my selections will prove my point even more forcefully [that Lindsay was much more than "the hackneyed image of the jingleman and corn-fed howler"] by drawing attention away from the too well-known images and poems of Vachel Lindsay to his less well-known preoccupations: to his single-minded devotion to the task of providing a verbal transcription of his graphic and poetic egg, 'The Map of the Universe'; to his struggle toward the Book of Books that *The Golden Book of Springfield* should have been but could not possibly be; to his exploration of the various semiotic realms that could best account for his vision.[47]

In one sense Chenetier offers an argument through his selections, although he disavows any intention of simply marshalling letters for the sole purpose of representing his particular view of Lindsay.

His stated general objectives are twofold: "My general approach has consisted of including those letters that seemed most appropriate both for an in-depth group of Vachel Linday's poetic explorations and imagination and for a clear, practical overall view of his life."[48] The chronicler is especially successful in conveying thorough his selections a sense of the evolving growth and changes in the life of the man, from his youthful identification with Springfield through his repeated journeys aross the United States to his many efforts to find a comfortable and meaningful life through marriage and family. Chenetier's other objective, that of offering an in-depth grasp of Lindsay's poetic explorations and imagination, is less successfully realized, for the poetry itself is essential to a grasp of the poet's vision. However, the more pragmatic side of his creative nature is implicitly part and parcel of the letters, for we move from Lindsay's early admiration for Poe and Swinburne, for Ruskin and Tolstoi, through his concerns with poetic form, rhythm, imagism, free verse, jazz, the Booth and Congo pieces to his recognition that he himself, despite his earlier disavowals, had become a poet. In a letter dated 18 September 1923 to Elizabeth Mann Wills he writes:

> So to you, as to the world, you are willing for me to be a poet, not a person, and like the world you respect and love me most when I am most a poet. I am for the first time in my life admitting to myself I am a poet and very little else. I tell you dearest—it is a fate I cannot understand. I did not ask to be a poet. I only asked to be a person in your sight.[49]

Chenetier's letter collection, like Blotner's of Faulkner, offers an overview of Lindsay's life as person and poet, but by its very selective nature can do no more than suggest directions biographers might

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choose in writing a unified life. The best demonstration of Lindsay's poetic explorations and imagination would be provided by the author's literary works themselves and secondly by extracts from those works through which the chronicler shows the poet's evolution and growth. For a more detailed study of Lindsay's poetic and imaginative growth a study of the evolution of specific works through a systematic examination of manuscript stages would more accurately reflect the creative processes through which the poet passed in his imaginative development. Finally, contrary to Chenetier's thesis, letters do not give the best "clear, overall view" of a life, however informative and helpful they may be. Chenetier's objective would be better served by a different kind of documentary collection, a more representative selection. I must add, however, that Chenetier's outstanding "Introduction," with discussions of Lindsay's commitment to a visual imagination, to semiotic systems of interrelated meanings, to democratic ideals, to a unified America, suggest that Chenetier himself could write a distinguished biography of Lindsay.

V: The Method of Representative Selections

John Wain in his *Johnson on Johnson* uses the method of representative selections, choosing a variety of materials primarily from the corpus of the subject's works (but also from related sources written by others such as Boswell) as one way to represent the development and variousness of Johnson's life. He lists the sources he examined in arriving at his selections: Johnson's diaries and "annals," letters, conversations, prayers and meditations, and personal references in his published works, including the *Lives, The Hermit of Teneriffe, Rasselas, Rambler, Idler,* and the "Preface" to the *Dictionary.* The extent and variety of Wain's selections offer a much broader canvas of the life of the subject than those limited to a single or several genres, such as letters and journals. Through the inclusion of materials published as well as personal, Wain provides a more detailed and representative view of the evolution of Johnson's intellectual and imaginative life, his character and personality as a human being living a life of moral and spiritual as well as artistic concerns.

Of the letters he selected Wain notes that they are primarily "practical: an arrangement to meet, a request for a loan of a book, the answer to some specific question," but he adds, "the incidental touches" "suddenly reveal the man. . . ." But selected letters alone, Wain continues, will not represent the man, nor will selections from conversations, for Johnson "is often talking for victory and delighting in the

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contest," a sophist at times. In Wain's view Johnson's prayers and meditations, however, accurately represent the subject's spiritual progress through continual self-examination. And, finally, at the core of Johnson's nature was his moral concern, for Johnson "was not a purely imaginative writer," but held invention "at the service of the applicable moral lesson." Hence, in such a work as *Rasselas,* "the *personae* all speak in the same idiom and it is the idiom of Johnson."

For example, Wain's uses of selected passages from *Rasselas* (1759) illustrate many of the specific problems I find with the method of choosing representative selections. He includes from that work the chapters devoted to "The happiness of solitude. The hermit's history" (Chapter XXI), the last two paragraphs from "The astronomer leaves Imlac his directions" (Chapter XLII), and "The dangerous prevalence of imagination" (Chapter XLIV). In keeping with his method he might also have included Imlac's "dissertation upon poetry" (Chapter X) and his discussion of "the nature of the soul" (Chapter XLVIII). Wain assumes the idiom of the *personae* in the fable is Johnson's idiom, an assumption that allows him to suggest that both characters and Johnson speak in the same voice.[50] In one sense of course an author's voice is inseparable from those of his characters, his creations; in a different sense the voices of an author's characters are organic to the fable and become only in a secondary sense first person expression, such as the author's voice in essays, letters, biographies. The entire fable does represent an author's statement, but to propose, as Wain does, that "the character of Imlac, the philosopher, is clearly intended to be in some ways a surrogate for the author"[51] requires a carefully reasoned argument involving the establishment of clear intellectual and aesthetic relationships between the author's life and his fictions. That Johnson insisted on the didactic function of literature, another of Wain's arguments for thematic selections does not justify the assignment of Imlac's disquisitions to Johnson's first person voice.[52] Johnson does state a didactic purpose in the opening paragraph of *Rasselas:*

> Ye who listen with credulity to the whispers of fancy, and pursue with eagernes the phantoms of hope; who expect that age will perform the promises of youth, and that the deficiencies of the present day will be supplied by the morrow,—attend to the history of Rasselas, prince of Abyssinia.[53]

Wain's arguments of idiom, surrogate speaker, and didactic-thematic concerns fail to justify the selections from *Rasselas.*

Wain's method offers certain advantages to the chronicler, for it rep-

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resents the subject as one voice speaking for a life, it fuses the private and the imaginative life of the subject into a single entity and avoids the "life-works" dichotomy created by selections from only personal or published documents, it avoids the distortion of representing a life from selections from only one genre such as letters, it does not lay claim to a genre form such as autobiography which is subjectively determined by the chronicler, and it appeals more to a popular audience than to a critical-scholarly one.

VI: Conclusion

In summary, the method of collecting, chronicling, and selecting documents by and about literary figures serves an intermediate function in the biographical process, for it offers a preliminary and background introduction to the subject. For the biographer the epistolary method (Steinbeck-Wallsten, Sexton-Ames, Blotner, Chenetier) is the most highly focused since it represents the limited first-person voice of the subject writing usually to persons who affect and influence his life. The "autobiographical" method (Cross and Weintraub) is also of essential value to the biographer, for it represents the subject's voice drawn from additional sources such as journals and diaries. The method of using representative selections (Wain) is less useful to the biographer for it purposefully contains not only selected factual but also imaginative excerpts, the former of only indicative value since a biographer cannot develop a representative interpretation of a life from the materials given, the latter out of their fictional contexts of little or no value in developing the interrelationships between the subject's actual and imaginative life. Of the chronicle collections I have considered, the "log" method (Leyda) is probably most useful for making available in a single source materials not otherwise conveniently available to a biographer and least useful since it represents a conglomerate of factual and imaginative material written by the subject himself but also materials written about him and his work during his lifetime.

The chronicle collection method, when viewed overall, has certain fundamental strengths and weaknesses. In the first place, the chroniclers state aims that cannot be realized through the specific selections provided. For example, Blotner's epistolary selections do offer previously unpublished materials, but for "a deeper understanding" of the artist Faulkner the biographer and reader might better focus their attention on Faulkner's imaginative works themselves. Similarly, for a "balanced portrait" of Sexton one must necessarily use more than her letters.

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The chroniclers also fail to enunciate and clarify the principles of selection and omission they follow. Leyda's purpose, for example, of providing "factual" information for biographical interpretations is poorly served by his method of extracting paragraphs from Melville's imaginative works that he believes are significantly related to Melville's life. Likewise, the Steinbeck-Wallsten criterion of selecting letters that they consider "interesting" offers a highly subjective point of view and through omission invites further biographical investigation.

In general the chroniclers do provide running commentary, but they do not include detailed biographical perspectives on the selected documents nor on the subject's imaginative work, such as one finds in John Milton French's *Life Records* of Milton. Leyda's method was essentially one of simply juxtaposing the selections (he fails to make explicit the grounds for many of the juxtapositions) and leaving interpretations to the reader; however, had he provided critical-scholarly perspectives on the included book reviews of Melville's imaginative works, for example, the reader and biographer would have benefitted from the research of the past hundred years. I do not wish to fault Leyda for what he did not intend to do; I wish to suggest that his work following other principles could have been of much greater value to subsequent biographers.

The chroniclers generally exclude extracts from the imaginative works of the subject, in my view a sound principle of selection. Both the epistolary and "autobiographical" chroniclers usually follow this principle. However, the chroniclers who use the "log" and the method of representative selections do introduce extracts from imaginative works and thereby confuse rather than clarify. Wain's extracts from Johnson's *Rasselas,* for example, through which Wain argues that Johnson's voice is that of the philosopher Imlac, ignores the larger fact that the entire fable is Johnson's voice disclaiming on the pursuit of happiness and the problems of human choice. Of course life and literature are interactive, as Ellman has so well demonstrated in his biography of *James Joyce,* but the interactive character of the relationships is not provided by extracts in relative isolation.

The chroniclers usually exclude the larger historical-cultural-literary framework which would offer a contextual overview of the subject and contribute to the reader's understanding of specific documents. However, almost without exception the chroniclers do provide pertinent details through running commentary concerning the specific correspondents, situations, relationships, and activities of the subject. For example, Cross provides a list of books Eliot read "the latter half of

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1861," information of value to the biographer seeking to understand her intellectual life. Steinbeck-Wallsten include Steinbeck's Nobel Prize Speech, and Sexton-Ames introduce information on Sexton's breakdown that sent her to the psychiatric ward of the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1964, matters of significant value to a biographer.

On occasion the chroniclers fail to evaluate the biographical value of certain documents. Leyda's selections from Melville's imaginative works, for example, appear out of their fictional contexts and are at best only tenuously related to the actual day-to-day life Melville was living.

The chronicle method inherently fails to offer a consistent point of view since it presents documents chronologically juxtaposed rather than unified sequences. The primary unity is provided by the fact that most of the selections were written by the subject. However, Leyda for example includes letters, book reviews, and other documents not written by Melville. A secondary point of view, of value for its informational contribution, is offered by the chronicler through selective running commentaries. The commentary by Cross and Steinbeck-Wallsten is of value for their first-hand knowledge of part of the subject's life, that of Wain for his biographical knowledge of Johnson (he is a biographer of Johnson), and Leyda's for his extensive research into documents about Melville.

Since the primary but not the only interest in the life of a literary figure derives from the desire to understand better his literature, the chroniclers' failure to show the interactions between and among the subject's life and works represents another gap in the chronicle method. Steinbeck's notes written to Pascal Covici during the writing of *East of Eden,* published as the *Journal of a Novel: The East of Eden Letters* (1969), provide the biographer with an intermediary perception of the interactions between the subject and his imaginative work. The chroniclers do provide background information on the imaginative process, such as Eliot's comments on the genesis of *Adam Bede* from her Journal of November 1858. However, the biographer will find only limited uses he can make of the chronicles in assimilating the imaginative life into the subject's actual life; poems, novels, plays, stories must be interpreted and then reinterpreted as they relate to a life.

Finally, the principles governing the chronicler's selections and collection of documents suitable for biographical purposes exclude materials that might otherwise be helpful to a life writer. In no way am I suggesting that chroniclers should have followed biographical principles, since their stated aims frequently are different, but the uses to

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which biographers may put such collections are circumscribed by their selective and limited aims.

The chroniclers, in answer to Pater's cry—"it seems so awful not to be"—are establishing the roots of being through their collecting, chronicling, and selecting. From such roots we may expect more exact documentary biography followed by qualitative changes in narrative, historical, critical, and artistic biography. If the aim is "to get at the truth of" a literary subject,[54] Leyda's comment on his intention in the Emily Dickinson collection, then for Pater and the rest of us the chronicle method is no awful thing.

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NOTES

1. Walter Pater, as quoted by Gerald Monsman, *Walter Pater's Art of Autobiography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 1–2.
2. In an oversimplified typology such methods are represented by the following biographers: the documentary method of S. Schoenbaum's *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life;* the narrative method of Richard Ellman's *James Joyce;* the historical method of A. L. Rowse's *Christopher Marlowe: His Life and Work;* the critical method of Michael Holroyd's *Lytton Strachey: A Critical Biography;* the psychological method of Leon Edel's *Henry James;* the artistic method of Catherine Drinker Bowen's *Yankee from Olympus: Justic Holmes and His Family;* and the imaginative method of Antony Burgess' *Shakespeare.* Each method offers certain advantages as well as disadvantages to the biographer of a literary figure; all required previous bibliographical, scholarly, and critical work by earlier investigators, a process of discovering, identifying, dating, editing, and evaluating unpublished and published documents.
3. Jay Leyda (ed.), *The Melville Log: A Documentary Life of Herman Melville, 1819–1891,* 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt, 1951).
4. J. W. Cross (ed.), *The Complete Works of George Eliot: Life and Letters* (New York: Crowell, 1884).
5. Stanley Weintraub (ed.), *Shaw: An Autobiography,* 2 vols. (New York: Weybright, 1969–70).
6. Elaine Steinbeck and Robert Wallsten (eds.), *Steinbeck: A Life in Letters* (New York: Penguin, 1976).
7. Linda Gray Sexton and Lois Ames (eds), *Anne Sexton: A Self-Portrait in Letters* (Boston: Houghton, 1977).
8. Joseph Blotner (ed.), *Selected Letters of William Faulkner* (New York: Random, 1977).
9. Marc Chenetier (ed.), *Letters of Vachel Lindsay* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1979).
10. John Wain (ed.), *Johnson on Johnson: A Selection of the Personal and Autobiographical Writings of Samuel Johnson (1709–1784)* (London: Dent, 1976).

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11. Leyda, *Melville,* I, xii. Unless otherwise indicated all quotations in this section are taken from Leyda's "Introduction."
12. Cf. Jay Leyda, "An Impersonal Note," *The Mussorgsky Reader: A Life of Petrovich Modeste Mussorgsky in Letters and Documents,* ed. and trans. Jay Leyda and Segei Bertsson (New York: Norton, 1947), p. ix. Cf. Jay Leyda, "Introduction," *The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson* (New York: Yale University Press, 1960), p. xix.
13. Leyda, *Mussorgsky,* p. ix.
14. Leyda, *Dickinson,* p. xix.
15. Leyda, *Dickinson,* p. xix.
16. Leyda, *Dickinson,* p. xix.
17. Cf. Leon Howard, *Herman Melville* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. vii. Howard states: "The two projects [his formal narrative biography and Leyda's *Log*] remained complementary rather than competitive. . . . The *Log,* consequently, provides both the source material and the documentation for this biograpahy. . . ." In contrast to Leyda's position, Edward H. O'Neill said in *A History of American Biography 1800–1935* (New York: Barnes, 1935), p. 50: "Everything that a man said or did is not biographical material. . . ."
18. Leyda, *Melville,* I, 414.
19. Leyda, *Melville,* I, 412.
20. Leyda, *Melville,* I, 414.
21. Leyda, *Melville,* I. 414–15.
22. Herman Melville, *Pierre; or The Ambiguities,* ed. Robert S. Forsythe (New York: Knopf, 1941), p. 272.
23. Leyda, *Melville,* II, pp. 859–861.
24. Howard P. Vincent, "The Man Melville Sheds His Myth," *New York Times,* 11 November 1951, Sec. 7, p. 25., col. 1.
25. 5 vols. (New York: Gordian, 1966), I, v. "The present work . . . is a source book, designed to provide a day-to-day guide to the known facts in the life of a great poet. However useful it may possibly prove as a quarry for future biographers, it simply presents the records and allows them to speak for themselves."
26. Herman Melville, *The Letters of Herman Melville,* ed. Merrell R. Davis and William H. Gilman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).
27. Vincent, p. 25, col. 1.
28. Cross, *Eliot.* Unless otherwise noted all quotations are taken from Cross' "Preface," pp. v–viii.
29. Julian Symons, *The Tell-Tale Heart: The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York: Penguin, 1981), p. 4. "Most of these statements were inaccurate, and some were positively untrue." Likewise Howard said of Melville: "The most difficult sources from which to get trustworthy information concerning Melville's life were his autobiographical books." *Melville,* p. ix. Earlier Lewis Mumford in *Herman Melville: A Study of His Life and Vision,* rev. ed. (1929; rpt. New York: Harcourt, 1962), p. xi, said much the same thing: "But for a minute, day-by-day account of his early rovings Melville cannot be trusted . . . this autobiographic narratives manifestly fall short of the requirements of a sworn witness in a court of law; and by the same token they do not meet current American standards of scholarship."

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30. Holroyd, I, xvii.
31. Cross, *Eliot,* pp. 615–6.
32. Weintraub, "Sources," *Shaw,* I, 310.
33. Weintraub, "Sources," *Shaw,* I, 310.
34. Weintraub, *Shaw.* Unless otherwise noted all quotations are taken from "G.B.S. Sketches for a Self-Portrait," I, vii–xvi.
35. Weintraub, "A Patchwork Self-Portrait, 1898–1950," *Shaw,* II, vii–ix. All quotations in this paragraph are from this source.
36. *Shaw,* II, 147–56.
37. Keith Sagar, *D. H. Lawrence: A Calendar of his Works* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), p. vii.
38. Steinbeck, "Preface," *Steinbeck,* pp. vii–xi. All quotations in this discussion of the letters were taken from this source.
39. Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Biography: The Craft and the Calling* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 5. "A biography must be planned *before* it is written, not afterward."
40. *The True Adventures of John Steinbeck, Writer* (New York: Viking, 1984), p. 150.
41. Sexton and Ames, "Editors' Note," *Sexton,* pp. ix–x.
42. Ellman, *Joyce,* p. 1.
43. Sexton, *Sexton,* p. 167.
44. Blotner, "Introduction," *Faulkner,* pp. xiii–xvi. Unless otherwise noted all quotations are taken from this source.
45. William Faulkner as quoted by Blotner, "Introduction," *Faulkner,* p. xiii: "It is my aim, and every effort bent, that the sum and history of my life, which in the same sentence is my obit and epitaph too, shall be them both: He made the books and he died."
46. Sagar, *Lawrence,* p. vii.
47. Chenetier, "Introduction," *Lindsay,* pp. xxiv–xxx. Other quotations and paraphrases in this section were taken from this source.
48. Chenetier, *Lindsay,* p. xxix.
49. Chenetier, *Lindsay,* p. 293.
50. Wain, *Johnson,* p. xiv.
51. Wain, *Johnson,* pp. 52–3.
52. Wain, *Johnson,* pp. xiii–xiv.
53. Samuel Johnson, "Rasselas," *Eighteenth Century Poetry and Prose,* ed. Louis Bredvold and others (New York: Ronald, 1939), p. 695.
54. Leyda, *Dickinson,* p. xix.

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Ilona Bell

"Haunted by Great Ghosts": Virginia Woolf and *To the Lighthouse*

I. "The Presence of My Mother."

From the age of thirteen when her mother died, until she wrote *To the Lighthouse* at forty-four, Virginia Woolf could not live—could not write, or act, or think—without measuring herself by her mother: "the presence of my mother obsessed me. I could hear her voice, see her, imagine what she would do or say as I went about my day's doings."[1] Then suddenly, inexplicably, psychological obsession produced artistic creativity. Fifteen years later in *A Sketch of the Past* Woolf describes the transformation, the liberation, with absolute clarity:

> It is perfectly true that [my mother] obsessed me, in spite of the fact that she died when I was thirteen, until I was forty-four. Then one day walking round Tavistock Square I made up, as I sometimes make up my books, *To the Lighthouse;* in a great, apparently involuntary rush. One thing burst into another . . . my lips seemed syllabling of their own accord as I walked. What blew the bubbles? Why then? I have no notion. But I wrote the book very quickly; and when it was written, I ceased to be obsessed by my mother. I no longer hear her voice; I do not see her.
>
> I suppose that I did for myself what psycho-analysts do for their patients. I expressed some very long felt and deeply felt emotion. And in expressing it I explained it and then laid it to rest.[2]

Woolf leaves open three overriding questions: what was that "long felt and deeply felt emotion"? "But what is the meaning of 'explained' it?" "Why, because I described her and my feeling for her in that book, should my vision of her and my feeling for her become so much dimmer and weaker?" This essay addresses those questions.

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When a novel is as avowedly autobiographical as *To the Lighthouse,* it is tempting to use the life as a standard to judge the fiction, as Mark Spilka does when he "borrows" from the lives outside the novel to show that the text is obscure and incomplete because Woolf was confused and inhibited by unexpressed grief for her mother.[3] But unlike Spilka, Woolf herself felt that *To the Lighthouse* miraculously expressed and explained all her deepest feelings for her mother. In the first part of this essay, therefore, we will ask, not what *To the Lighthouse* sentimentalizes and omits, but what it adds to *Reminiscences,* Woolf's first non-fictional attempt to describe that adored, idealized, oppressive spectre of her mother. In the second part, using *A Room of One's Own* as a guide, we will see why *To the Lighthouse* surpasses the memoirs and expresses elusive, enigmatic feelings Woolf could only explain in a novel,[4] when "life conflicts with something that is not life."[5] Woolf's earlier, unintegrated and unnerving portrait of Julia Stephen and her later, general thoughts about the intersection of life and fiction, show 1) how balanced and fully imagined is her portrait of Mrs. Ramsay; 2) how closely Lily Briscoe comes to Woolf's own vision of truth, truth that embraces the "undeniable, everlasting, contradictory things" Mrs. Ramsay saw but tried to conceal with the "relief of simplicity."[6] Woolf overcame the feeling of hardship and grievance caused by her mother's death, and was thus able to describe her mother and express her own feelings without bias or impediment—rather like Shakespeare, out of whom Woolf said, "all desire to protest, to preach, to proclaim an injury, to pay off a score, to make the world the witness of some hardship or grievance was fired . . . and consumed" (AR 58).

Although Woolf does not acknowledge it, *A Room of One's Own* was profoundly shaped by her own recent liberation from her mother. The creation of *To the Lighthouse,* where "one thing burst into another" and her lips "seemed syllabling of their own accord," led Woolf to conclude, "the state of mind that is most propitious to the act of creation" has "consumed all impediments and become incandescent" (AR 52, 62). Unfortunately, Woolf thought, women's fiction is all too often "deformed and twisted" by alien, disturbing emotions, especially by "anger that had gone underground and mixed itself with all kinds of other emotions . . . anger disguised and complex, not anger simple and open" (AR 72, 32). The contrast between disguised, repressed emotion and incandescence pervades *To the Lighthouse* and produces *A Room of One's Own.* In fact, one might say, the true basis of Woolf's modernist aesthetic and feminist convictions is the contrast between her former feelings of indignation and oppression, on one hand, where

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"one is unconsciously holding something back, and gradually the repression becomes an effort," and her recent creative "state of mind in which one could continue without effort because nothing is required to be held back" (AR 101). As a result, *A Room of One's Own* comes as close as Woolf ever came to analyzing that "long felt and deeply felt emotion" about her mother, and it still provides an indirect but remarkably illuminating guide to the novel.

II. "Infinitely Noble and Delightful to Her Children"

Since *To the Lighthouse* is "like a spider's web, attached ever so lightly perhaps, but still attached to life at all four corners" (AR 43), we begin with *Reminiscences* which Woolf wrote when she was twenty-five, fifteen years after she lost her mother and twenty-three years before *To the Lighthouse.* The memoir is "haunted by great ghosts" (MB 53) and dominated by the continuing presence of Woolf's ideal, spectral mother: "in bed at night, or in the street, or as I come into the room, there she is; beautiful, emphatic, with her familiar phrase and her laugh; closer than any of the living are, lighting our random lives as with a burning torch, infinitely noble and delightful to her children" (MB 40). In order to write *To the Lighthouse,* Woolf had to expel this angelic, guardian angel, and create a room of her own.

In *Reminiscences,* in the feelings Woolf sentimentalizes and the conflicts she betrays, are the original marks of that mysterious, unidentified feeling which came to rest in *To the Lighthouse:*

> In addition to all her other labours she took it on herself to teach us our lessons, and thus established a very close and rather trying relationship, for she was of a quick temper, and least of all inclined to spare her children. "Your father is a great man." But in no other way could we have learnt, in the short time we had, so much of her true nature, obscured by none of those graceful figments which interpose themselves generally in the gulf which lies between a middle-aged woman and her children. It might have been better, as it certainly would have tired her less, had she allowed that some of those duties could be discharged for her. But she was impetuous, and also a little imperious; so conscious of her own burning will that she could scarcely believe that there was not something quicker and more effective in her action than in another's (MB 38–9).

Woolf's unacknowledged resentment surfaces in the interstices of her thoughts. Julia insisted on teaching the children because she thought she knew what was best for them, but what did they learn from this "close and rather trying relationship"? That their mother was quick-

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tempered, "impetuous," "imperious," and "least of all inclined to spare her children." Even as a child, Woolf could not help but see how her older sister Stella suffered because their mother "was ruthless in her ways, and quite indifferent, if she saw good, to any amount of personal suffering" (MB 42). What we see here is "anger that had gone underground and mixed itself with all kinds of other emotions . . . anger disguised and complex, not anger simple and open" (AR 32).

Why is that comment about Woolf's father interjected? Woolf does not make a logical connection, but the psychological connection is clear: Julia Stephen made allowances for her husband's brilliance, and the children felt neglected and angry. Since their mother was protected by death, the children directed all their indignation at their father, only some of which he deserved: "we made him the type of all that we hated in our lives; he was the tyrant of inconceivable selfishness, who had replaced the beauty and merriment of the dead with ugliness and gloom" (MB 56).

As a bereft and oppressed daughter, Woolf idealized her mother and abhorred her father. As a writer and critic, she knew her image of both parents was so exaggerated that it "obscured both living and dead; and for long did unpardonable mischief by substituting for the shape of a true and most vivid mother, nothing better than an unlovable phantom" (MB 45). "Unpardonable mischief" is strong language, but most telling is the phrase, "obscured both living and dead." Exchanging maternal beauty and merriment for paternal tyranny was surely a loss; finding herself and the entire family "haunted by great ghosts" (MB 53) and "obscured" by an unreal, inimitable ideal, "closer than any of the living are" (MB 40), was far worse.

It is only in the final chapter of *Reminiscences* after her mother and Stella have both died, confirming the "exquisite fleeting femininities" of sacrifice and sympathy, that Woolf ventures to express, ever so tentatively, through Vanessa, her own desire for independence:

> If her mother had lived it is easy to imagine how Vanessa, questing about her, like some active dog, would have tried one experiment after another, arguing, painting, making friends, disproving fallacies, much to her mother's amusement; she would have delighted in her daughter's spirit and adventures, mourned her lack of practical wisdom, and laughed at her failures, and rejoiced in her sense. But that is one of the things, which though they must have happened, yet, incredible though it seems, never did happen, death making an end of all these exquisite preparations. Instead Vanessa was first baffled by her mother's death, and the unnatural life which for a time was entailed upon us (MB 55).

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Obviously, the deprivation was not only Vanessa's. "The unnatural life which for a time was entailed upon us," with its palpably oppressive, legalistic language, and the sentimental exaggerated description of her mother's delighted amusement, betray just how intensely Woolf wished for a chance to confront her mother, to challenge her mother's way of life "with one experiment after another."[7] Yet "incredible though it seems," that was impossible, at least not without great psychic strain, because Virginia felt her mother had bequeathed her daughters the responsibility to care for their father, and he expected "entire self-surrender" from "those beautiful feminine natures which are quite without wishes of their own" (MB 48). In *Reminiscences,* therefore, Woolf expresses with equal force two absolutely contradictory impulses: to treat her father as her mother and Stella did, (MB 45, 53), and to treat him according to "our own theory" (MB 52). Woolf obviously thinks the second plan, "our own theory," was preferable. The first proved the more compelling, because (as she explains later in *A Sketch of the Past*), from the time her mother died until she wrote *To the Lighthouse,* she could not do anything without imagining what her mother "would do or say."

As a result Woolf emerged with four distinct and conflicting psychological needs, none of which could be satisfied: 1. a child's yearning for an ideal, "infinitely noble and delightful" mother; 2. a legacy that condemned her and Vanessa to carry on her mother's and Stella's role; 3. an adolescent's rebellious anger at her difficult, demanding, selfish father; 4. a woman's growing need to establish her own values and way of life, independent of her mother. As Virginia later explained to Vanessa, "she has always haunted me, partly, I suppose her beauty; and then dying at that moment, I suppose she cut a great figure on one's mind when it was just awake, and had not any experience of life."[8] Since her mother died at such a critical juncture, these conflicting feelings persisted, creating psychological tensions which increased through time. Hating her father, Woolf yearned for her mother and imagined her phantom presence. At the same time, she yearned for the independence to define herself as a woman and an artist. Apparently, those feelings remained, oppressive and unresolved, until she conceived *To the Lighthouse* "in a great, apparently involuntary rush." No wonder Woolf proceeded in dread of sentimentality. She had succumbed twice already, in life and again in prose.

III. "Truth That Delighted, Eased, Sustained—Falsely Perhaps"

Because of her psychic history, Woolf could only begin over again with that highly idealized phantom image her memory had preserved:

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"beautiful, emphatic," "infinitely noble and delightful to her children (*MB* 40). With her "beauty and splendour" (46), her "swoop and fall of the spirit upon truth" (46), her "capacity to surround and protect" (60), Mrs. Ramsay is, as her son James thinks ten years after her death, a "great figure" with "everlasting attraction" (228).

"She bewitches you," Rachel Taylor wrote when the novel first appeared, "she has the deathless grace, regality, and sweetness of legendary women." Most subsequent critics have agreed. Mrs. Ramsay is "of course the central character," James Hafley says, "a human being of great appeal." "She is the natural center, the sun," Geoffrey Hartman says, "it all comes back to her, is resolved into simplicity by her word or presence." She is "the ideal mother, who functions on the level of myth, without sacrificing verisimilitude," Herbert Marder generalizes. She is "emotionally and socially creative," Mark Spilka says, the "adored guardian of life's secret wisdom."[9]

Yet unlike these critics, when Woolf finished *To the Lighthouse* she was positively delighted that she had not "made up" an "ideal," and repudiated such a "sham." Thus as soon as we have begun to feel that Woolf's love for her mother, and the world of her childhood, "like the love which mathematicians bear their symbols, or poets their phrases, was meant to be spread over the world and become part of the human gain" (73–4), Woolf starts to examine Mrs. Ramsay's character more critically:

> But was it nothing but looks, people said? What was there behind it—her beauty and splendour? Had he blown his brains out, they asked, had he died the week before they were married—some other, earlier lover, of whom rumours reached one? Or was there nothing? nothing but an incomparable beauty which she lived behind, and could do nothing to disturb? For easily though she might have said at some moment of intimacy when stories of great passion, of loved foiled, of ambition thwarted came her way how she too had known or felt or been through it herself, she never spoke. She was silent always. She knew then—she knew without having learnt. Her simplicity fathomed what clever people falsified. Her singleness of mind made her drop plumb like a stone, alight exact as a bird, gave her, naturally, this swoop and fall of the spirit upon truth which delighted, eased, sustained—falsely perhaps. (46).

This passage is full of provocative, unanswered questions. Are Mrs. Ramsay's "simplicity" and "singleness of mind" reliable intuitions about other people's self-deceptions? Or are they deliberate knowing falsities of her own? Does Mrs. Ramsay "swoop and fall upon truth" quite innocently, or is she destructive and avaricious, as the image of the hawk almost suggests? Does she refuse to share her own experi-

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ences because they would belie the truths she maintains, or does she magnanimously deny her own needs in order to "delight, ease, sustain" others? And what is the precise nature of those truths which Mrs. Ramsay knows and clever people falsified: a basic romantic simplicity? or disturbing, inadmissable complications? The narrator asks, but does not answer—yet.

After reading this paragraph, the only things we can say with certainty is that Woolf refuses to idealize Mrs. Ramsay's character, and refuses to let us fully trust her behavior. To my mind this is the most crucial and provocative passage in the novel, for it begins with the force of accumulated opinion and ends with the intensity of Woolf's own doubts, which is as close as we get in *To the Lighthouse* to a narrative assessment. Unfortunately, this passage is rarely discussed in detail, perhaps because it is difficult to know what to make of it—though that is precisely the point, as Woolf later explains in *A Room of One's Own:* "Lies will flow from my lips, but there may perhaps be some truth mixed up with them; it is for you to seek out this truth and to decide whether any part of it is worth keeping" (4).

This description of Mrs. Ramsay resembles Woolf's first portrait of her mother, with one crucial difference. In *To the Lighthouse* Woolf calls attention to ambiguities and questions certainties. In *Reminiscences* she attempts to write with certainty and ends up contradicting herself, betraying conflicts which she did not recognize and could not resolve: "she had great clearness of insight, sound judgement, humour, and a power of grasping very quickly the real nature of someone's circumstances, and so arranging that the matter, whatever it was, fell into its true proportions at once. Sometimes, with her natural impetuosity, she took it on herself to despatch difficulties with a high hand, like some commanding Empress. But most often I think her service, when it was not purely practical, lay in simply helping people by the light of her judgement and experience, to see what they really meant or felt" (MB 34–5). Woolf is willing to admit (or unable to deny) that her mother was commanding and willful, but she is not ready to ask—and thus we cannot help wondering—whether her mother's impetuosity and high-handedness might have prevented her from perceiving what another person "really meant or felt." With her instinct for truth," Mrs. Ramsay will not lie to herself, at least not knowingly. Beneath the "simplicity" and singlemindedness of her actions, her thoughts, neither simple nor child-like, provide a direct response to the questions raised by *Reminiscences* and focused by the narrator's "falsely perhaps": "Men, and women too, letting go the

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multiplicity of things, had allowed themselves with her the relief of simplicity. It injured her that [Mr. Carmichael] should shrink. It hurt her. And yet not cleanly, not rightly . . . that she was suspected; and that all this desire of hers to give, to help, was vanity" (65). Mrs. Ramsay does recognize the *multiplicity of things,* even as she consciously offers the *relief of simplicity,* a panacea not only for others but also for herself. She knows that her motives have been and, perhaps, should be questioned, and this recognition lingers and recurs, whenever she pauses to examine her conduct: "for her own self-satisfaction was it that she wished so instinctively to help, to give, that people might say of her, 'O Mrs. Ramsay! dear Mrs. Ramsay . . .' and need her and send for her and admire her?" (65) Though Mrs. Ramsay cannot reach an answer, the way she phrases the question, here and elsewhere, implicitly provides an answer: in her relations with people she never gets beyond her instinctive self-assertions. Mrs. Ramsay has an admirable instinct for truth, but she acts too coercively, too instinctively, and the very word is as much an excuse as a defense. "Making people like her," "making Minta marry . . . she was driven on, too quickly she knew, almost as if it were an escape for her too, to say that people must marry; people must have children. Was she wrong" (92–3).[12] In acting out of her own fears and needs, she never considers Minta's feelings, never stops to ask whether her conduct is indeed the best thing for the children, or Minta, or Lily, or Mr. Carmichael, or her husband. She is remarkably willing to examine her conduct, to question her own motives, but she never seriously considers changing her behavior. Thus she continues to badger Mr. Carmichael, although he continually scorns her ministrations, refuses to become dependent on her pity. Her thoughts reach a limit beyond which she cannot see and will not probe, much like Woolf's mother who had "made up her mind definitely upon certain great matters and was never after troubled to consider herself at all" (MB 34).

"Ruthless in her ways," "impetuous and imperious" with her "burning will," Woolf says in *Reminiscences,* "her mark on them in ineffaceable, as though branded by the naked steel" (42, 39). Like Mrs. Stephen, Mrs. Ramsay's sympathy and charity seem cold, sharp and oddly inhuman: "plumb like a stone," "exact as a bird" (46). Mrs. Ramsay's thoughts never rise to the imaginative level of empathy. Since she never asks what is best for herself, she is inherently incapable of understanding what is best for others. That is, of course, one charge that hurts but never quite penetrates because she simply does not understand, and in that she is also like Woolf's mother, who "did

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not scruple to treat her [daughter] with the severity with which she would have treated her own failings, or to offer her up as freely as she would have offered herself" (MB 42).

Despite her "instinct for truth," Mrs. Ramsay suppresses her most disagreeable sensations, conceals the multiplicity of things, and continues to provide the relief of simplicity, out of some ideal of how women should behave:

> Indeed, she had the whole of the other sex under her protection; for reasons she could not explain, for their chivalry and valour, for the fact that they negotiated treaties . . . finally for an attitude towards herself which no woman could fail to feel or to find agreeable, something trustful, childlike, reverential . . . and woe betide the girl—pray Heaven it was none of her daughters!—who did not feel the worth of it, and all that it implied, to the marrow of her bones!
>
> She turned with severity upon Nancy. He had not chased them, she said. He had been asked. (13)

This passage begins "with reasons she could not explain" because, like the passage on page 46 that begins with what "people said" and ends by raising doubts in our mind, it offers an interpretation of Mrs. Ramsay that looks into and through her thoughts. The "severity" turned upon Nancy, the curse ("woe betide the girl"), and the prayer ("pray Heaven it was none of her daughters!") show just how powerfully this stricture had affected Woolf—to the very marrow of her bones!

To the Lighthouse begins with this "attitude" so that Woolf can explore "the worth of it, and all that it implied" all those years between her mother's death and writing *To the Lighthouse.* What Mrs. Ramsay defends but of course cannot explain is an ideal of deference and chivalry that Woolf explores in *A Room of One's Own:* "Women have served all these centuries as looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size" (35). Mrs. Ramsay insists that all men are to be admired because they are strong and heroic; simultaneously, she needs men to remain weak so that she can offer sympathy and support. She expresses and insists upon more sympathy than she feels, because she enjoys the trustful, childlike reverence it wins. She cannot attain true intimacy with women because she is always insisting that they join her campaign. She secretly knows that her husband's last book was not his best, but she spends enormous energy trying to hide that fact. She repeatedly thinks that Charles Tansley is an "odious little man," but

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she turns with "severity" upon her children, "addressing herself particularly to her daughters," whenever they suggest anything of the kind. Of course, she cannot explain any of that, but she believes the worth of it and inculcates all that implied. Thus she asks her daughters with complete conviction what Woolf would later ask with devastating irony: "How is he to go on giving judgement, civilising natives, making laws, writing books, dressing up and speechifying at banquets, unless he can see himself at breakfast and at dinner at least twice the size he really is?" (AR 36).

When Mr. Ramsay comes to her seeking sympathy and support, we see why she finds his dependency so "agreeable": immediately, she feels "animated and alive as if all her energies were being fused into force, burning and illuminating" (58). "So boasting of her capacity to surround and protect," there throbbed through her "the rapture of successful creation" (60–1). No doubt about it—she loves "the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size"; Mr. Ramsay *is* her most "successful creation." Consequently, Mrs. Ramsay insists that "an unmarried woman has missed the best of life (77), and she presents her own marriage as a model to be celebrated and imitated. Privately, she has "two emotions" about marriage: "freakish and tender . . . for what could be more serious than the love of man for woman, what more commanding, more impressive . . . at the same time these lovers, these people entering into illusion glittering eyed, must be danced round with mockery" (151).[13] People who enter into "illusion glittering eyed" either live with their illusions, as Mrs. Ramsay generally does, or they end up clear-sighted and disillusioned.

In *Reminiscences* Woolf tried to maintain the illusion that her parents' marriage "was, as the saying is, perfect, nor would I for a moment dispute that, believing as I do that each of these much tried and by no means easy-going people found in the other the highest and most perfect harmony which their natures could respond to. Beautiful often, even to our eyes, were their gestures, their glances of pure and unutterable delight in each other. But, if I can convey my meaning by the metaphor, the high consonance, the flute voices of two birds in tune, was only reached by rich, rapid scales of discord, and incongruity" (MB 37). Woolf cannot deny that "discord, and incongruity" existed, but she goes out her way to show that they only made the relationship more perfectly loving and harmonious. "Even to our eyes," "nor would I for a moment admit"—the protestations sound less than

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candid. Woolf admits that she is resorting to sentimental clichés, but she does not have the pyschological freedom to do anything else, even "for a moment."

In *To the Lighthouse* Woolf uses the same metaphor more skeptically, to show us that the "highest and most perfect harmony which their natures could respond to" can be quite "disagreeable" and "dismal": "not being able to tell him the truth . . . about his books . . . and then to hide small daily things, and the children seeing, and the burden it laid on them—all this diminished the entire joy, the pure joy, of the two notes sounding together, and let the sound die on her ear now with a dismal flatness" (62). Mrs. Ramsay wants her husband to feel stronger and finer than she; therefore, she assumes responsibility for all the mundane, trivial details of their life.[14] But she is embarrassed that her husband comes to her "like that, openly . . . for then people said he depended on her." She encourages Mr. Ramsay to act like a "fractious child" (60), to be weak and undisciplined, to rely on her and need her.[15] But she feels a "disagreeable sensation" because "she did not like, even for a second, to feel finer than her husband" (61). She promises that "if he put implicit faith in her" he will never, "not for a second . . . find himself without her" (60), but the effort of maintaining these reassuring falsities so exhausts her, so depletes her resources, that she dies prematurely. When she pauses to examine "their relation," she feels "dismal" because she enjoys the power but not the deception of the looking glass illusion. She worries about what people will say, but she never stops to ask how her husband is affected by her protection and his dependency. She offers sympathy without empathy, because her thoughts again reach a limit beyond which she cannot imagine.

Initially, Mr. Ramsay wanders off, looking twice his natural size and feeling a renewal of creativity, because Woolf thought, that is how relations between men and women traditionally work:[16] "It was his power, his gift, suddenly to shed all superfluities, to shrink and diminish so that he looked barer and felt sparer, even physically, yet lost none of his intensity of mind, and so to stand on his little ledge facing the dark of human ignorance, how we know nothing and the sea eats away the ground we stand on—that was his fate, his gift" (68–9). This is Mr. Ramsay at his most intensely, admirably truthful, as Woolf tells us in another rare narrative intrusion, "had he been able to contemplate it, fixedly, it might have led to something." Past Q to R and on to Z, perhaps. Unfortunately, that never does happen because of that spot at the back of his head: "it was in this guise that he inspired in William

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Bankes (intermittently) and in Charles Tansley (obsequiously) and his wife now . . . reverence, pity, and gratitude too," reverence and gratitude for the moment of transcendent strength but pity too, for the guise, the illusion that both inspires and destroys it. "Delighted, eased, sustained, falsely perhaps"? No question could be more essential to a philosopher. Yet that is the one question Mr. Ramsay cannot ask, and everyone else cannot stop asking about him. "We know nothing, and the sea eats away the ground we stand upon"—Mr. Ramsay cannot contemplate that "fixedly" because he wants to believe he can conquer human ignorance and mortality through lasting fame. Consequently, he turns away from the multiplicity and complexity of things, mumbling excuses, "But the father of eight children . . ." The more Mr. Ramsay seeks the relief of simplicity, the more he fails and depends on his wife to conceal his failures.

Although Mrs. Ramsay regrets "the children seeing," her campaign of praise and concealment requires their support—and their sacrifice. To help her with this wearying task, Mrs. Ramsay invites "too many people to stay," and thus has even less time and energy left for the children. The detrimental results can be seen clearly in James. James epitomizes the unexamined, extreme feelings that Woolf herself expressed in *Reminiscences:* he thinks his mother is "infinitely noble and delightful to her children;" and he makes his father "the type of all that we hated in our lives . . . the tyrant of inconceivable selfishness" (MB 40, 56). Yet in her elusive, enigmatic way, Woolf shows us what neither James nor his mother realize: much of James's hatred actually stems from Mrs. Ramsay's behavior. She wants the children to honor and respect their father, but she expects them to accommodate his weaknesses. She pretends to support his judgement, but behind his back she immediately abandons difficult facts for simple solace. At the beginning of the novel James hates his father for claiming so much of his mother's attention,[17] but even more than that, he despises his father's "secret conceit at his own accuracy of judgement" (10), because he watches his mother deceiving his father, and does not yet realize that she also deceives him: "In a moment he would ask her, 'Are we going to the Lighthouse?' and she would have to say, 'No: not tomorrow; your father says not.' " (94–5). Indeed, she has already said as much. She could simply have said, we will go if it does not rain, for James is quite attuned to "leaves whitening before rain" (10). On some level, she must want James to blame his father, so that he will think she was "ten thousand times better in every way than he was (James thought)" (10).

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When the children and her husband no longer need her, in private, Mrs. Ramsay yearns to escape the deceptions that she has established and must now spend her life supporting: "For now she need not think about anybody. She could be herself, by herself. And that was what now she often felt the need of—" (95).[18] Immediately, she thinks of Lily and Mr. Carmichael, for they know what she now thinks but can never admit: "our apparitions, the things you know us by, are simply childish" (96). What Mrs. Ramsay realizes and the critics have failed to note is that visionary intensity, intellectual integrity, and pure, untainted joy are only possible for her[19] (as they are for her husband) when "all the being and the doing, expansive, glittering, vocal, evaporated; and one shrunk, with a sense of solemnity, to being oneself, a wedge-shaped core of darkness, something invisible to others" (95).

Her isolation makes Mr. Ramsay feel excluded; "had she known that he was looking at her, she thought, she would not have let herself sit there, thinking" (104). Ironically, their solitary explorations are remarkably alike. He is suddenly able to "shed all superfluities, to shrink and diminish" (68); she has also "shrunk." He stands on a "little ledge," she rests on "a platform of stability." He escapes the demands and limits of his male ego, she escapes the burden and limitations of womenhood. He goes on "a desolate expedition across the icy solitudes of the Polar region" (54); she fantasizes about travelling to all the places she has not seen: "The core of darkness could go anywhere . . . her horizon seemed to her limitless." There is a "sternness at the heart of her beauty"; his vigilance "spared no phantom."

In their hearts, in privacy, they both face the one truth they never admit to each other, "the dark of human ignorance, how we know nothing and the sea eats away the ground we stand on" (68–69). They are both afraid their world will topple if they do not sustain the looking-glass illusion. Consequently, Woolf tells us, Mr. Ramsay's work is not as penetrating or truthful or significant as it might have been, had he been able to face that truth "fixedly." Similarly, Mrs. Ramsay's inner life is more solitary, more alienating, her relations with her family and friends more commanding and distant and finally false than they might have been, were she not determined to silence the "mute questioning of deference and chivalry" that "was in all their minds" (14). Even her relation with her husband is more of a mockery, more a "freakish and tender" illusion (151), than it might have been, were it not tinged with that basic, unacknowledged falsity that prevents them from admitting, or sharing, their private thoughts. With the "swoop and fall of the spirit upon truth which delighted, eased, sustained—

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falsely perhaps," Mrs. Ramsay denies the multiplicity of things, the very truth which more than any other Woolf confronts and probes in *To the Lighthouse.*

In *Reminiscences* Woolf's portrait of her mother became sentimental and unreal, or disconnected and contradictory, precisely at those places where she tried to reach a comprehensive summation of her mother's character. In *To the Lighthouse* Woolf avoids that pitfall, and offers us not a judgment of the Ramsays but the information with which to form a judgment. Woolf withholds her own opinion not because she is still too traumatized to grieve over her mother's death, but because she has finally overcome her obsession with her mother and formulated her own conception of truth: "One can only give one's audience the chance of drawing their own conclusions as they observe the limitations, the prejudices, the idiosyncrasies of the speaker. Fiction here is likely to contain more truth than fact" (AR 4).

What Woolf does not explain but *Reminiscences, To the Lighthouse,* and *A Room of One's Own* together reveal, is that her theoretical refusal to provide the conventional "nugget of pure truth" is a reaction to her mother, who "stamped people with characters at once" (MB 35); an implicit criticism of Mrs. Ramsay, who is so ready to swoop and fall upon a simple, single-minded version of truth that she is continually forced to conceal and suppress the complexity of things; and a criticism of the illusions that conventionally separate men and women: "For if she begins to tell the truth, the figure in the looking-glass shrinks; his fitness for life is diminished" (AR 36).

Mrs. Ramsay spends her life watching to see that her husband is "taken care of, and praise him, somehow or other. But she wished it was not necessary: perhaps it was her fault that it was necessary" (162). Given the cost, not only having to "hide small daily things," "and the children seeing," but feeling that life, Life itself, was "something private, which she shared neither with her children nor with her husband" (91), one cannot help agreeing, "perhaps it was her fault." She is too "terribly accustomed to concealment and suppression" (AR 88). In *To the Lighthouse,* as in *A Room of One's Own,* Woolf looks beyond the glittering illusions and shows us very warily, but very convincingly, what the Ramsays never admit. As a result, we may begin to conclude as Woolf later will, "she should also learn to laugh, without bitterness, at the vanities . . . of the other sex. For there is a spot the size of a shilling at the back of the head which one can never see for oneself. It is one of the good offices that sex can discharge for sex—to describe that spot . . ." (AR 94).

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IV. The Multiplicity and Complexity of Things

Perhaps, we cannot be expected to reject Mrs. Ramsay's "simplicity" and "singleness of mind" on the basis of innuendoes like "falsely perhaps," or inferences like those we have assembled so far.[20] Fortunately, Woolf provided an explicit critique in the character of Lily Briscoe. Woolf wisely chose to make Lily a friend rather than a daughter, distancing Lily from her own obsession with her mother, and thus viewing Mrs. Ramsay more impartially and complexly from the perspective of an "independent little creature" of the next generation.[21]

In Mrs. Ramsay's presence Lily is always conscious of her own inadequacy and insignificance. Mrs. Ramsay continually thinks everything about Lily was "so small" (155); "with her little Chinese eyes and her puckered-up face, she would never marry; one could not take her painting very seriously" (29). Yet Mrs. Ramsay insists, willfully, imperiously, that Lily "must, Minta must, they all must marry" (77). Lily both idealizes and questions Mrs. Ramsay's "unreal but penetrating and exciting" (73) ideal of marriage, and thus comes very close to seeing the "freakish and tender" illusion (151) Mrs. Ramsay herself sees. Yet Mrs. Ramsay is so commanding, so irresistible, and Lily feels so small, so inadequate, that "for the hundred and fiftieth time Lily Briscoe had to renounce the experiment—what happens if one is not nice to that young man" (139). Lily alone understands the disadvantages of having the whole of the other sex under her protection: "she had not been sincere. She had done the usual trick—been nice. She would never know him. He would never know her. Human relations were all like that, she thought, and the worst . . . were between men and women" (139).[22] Lily knows that Mrs. Ramsay's chivalric ideal requires falsity and thus precludes true intimacy. Thus when Mrs. Ramsay insists she must, they all must marry, Lily resists: "gathering a desperate courage she would urge her own exemption from the universal law; plead for it; she liked to be alone; she liked to be herself" (77). Echoing Woolf's desire to be herself, by herself, without the oppressive burden of her mother's ghostly presence, intuitively Lily summons the best possible argument: Mrs. Ramsay's own hidden desire to "be herself, by herself" (95).

Above all, Lily yearns to penetrate and share the secret depths Mrs. Ramsay enters when she is by herself.[23] Lily paints Mrs. Ramsay as a "triangular purple shape" which approaches the "wedge-shaped core of darkness" but remains outside, without depth, for Mrs. Ramsay will not, cannot admit her secret thoughts to anyone. When Lily sug-

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gests she needn't marry, "she liked to be herself," Mrs. Ramsay responds instinctively, imperiously, with "simple certainty (and she was childlike now) that her dear Lily, her little Brisk, was a fool" (78). She later admits to herself that she was "childish" with Lily (96). But she never bothers to ask what Lily is thinking or feeling, and thus she never understands Lily's laughter at her for "presiding with immutable calm over destinies which she completely failed to understand" (78). On the basis of her personal experiences, Lily confirms the most telling criticism of Mrs. Ramsay that the narrator implied and we discovered in the first part of this essay—broaching again the most devastating suspicions about her mother that Woolf raised, but did not develop, in *Reminiscences.*

During dinner, when Lily is disturbed by the insincerity of following Mrs. Ramsay's demand that she go to the aid of Charles Tansley and again when she is rebuffed by the "cruelty, its unscrupulosity" (154) of Paul Rayley's love, the love Mrs. Ramsay fostered, Lily decides "she need not marry, thank Heaven: she need not undergo that degradation. She was saved from that dilution. She would move the tree rather more to the middle" (154). Lily had intended Mrs. Ramsay's essence to fill the center of the painting,[24] but it does not because Mrs. Ramsay wants her "wedge-shaped core of darkness" to remain "something invisible to others" (95). The tree is an improvement, but not a final solution, because Lily is "thinking of something other than the thing in itself. . . . There was a flaw in the centre of it" (AR 77). Lily is still the epitomal woman artist, tormented and inhibited, because "Mrs. Ramsay cared not a fig for her painting," because Charles Tansley says, "Women can't paint, women can't write," because "The World said with a guffaw, Write? What's the good of your writing?" (AR 54).

With the other sex, Lily feels free to assess (if only to herself) "that spot the size of a shilling at the back of the head" (AR 94). Thus she provides the novel's most complex, complete, and balanced portrait of Mr. Ramsay (37–41). Her vision of Mrs. Ramsay is equally complex, but less settled, less complete; even after deciding to move the tree to the middle, she must still establish and trust her own differences from Mrs. Ramsay: "Such was the complexity of things. For what happened to her, especially staying with the Ramsay's, was to be made to feel violently two opposite things at the same time; that's what you feel, was one; that's what I feel, was the other, and then they fought together in her mind" (154). Lily does not wish to become the kind of woman Mrs. Ramsay is, but she has yet to discover what Woolf

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learned from writing *Reminiscences* and *To the Lighthouse;* that a portrait, even of a beloved, lost mother—or mother-figure—need not be a tribute. It is better to paint what you see, healthier to criticize than to idealize: "Be truthful, one would say, and the result is bound to be amazingly interesting" (AR 94–5).

In "The Window" Lily's love for Mrs. Ramsay recalls Woolf's memory of her "infinitely noble and delightful" mother. Lily feels "intense gratitude; for nothing so solaced her, eased her of the perplexity of life, and miraculously raised its burdens, as this sublime power, this heavenly gift" of Mrs. Ramsay's (74). Lily has enjoyed the "relief of simplicity" but she also feels "the complexity of things." Mrs. Ramsay was "unquestionably the loveliest of people," Lily thinks, "but also, different too from the perfect shape which one saw there" (76). "Delighted, eased, sustained—falsely perhaps" (46)—Lily has received the full treatment and she shares Woolf's doubts. In fact, Lily's metaphors recall and explain that first, overriding question about Mrs. Ramsay. "Her singleness of mind made her drop plumb like a stone, alight exact as a bird, gave her, naturally, this swoop and fall of the spirit upon truth . . ." (46), Woolf tells us. "She was like a bird for speed, an arrow for directness. She was wilful; she was commanding," Lily thinks, "annoyed . . . by some highhandedness" (76–7). Thus even as Lily idealizes Mrs. Ramsay, she pauses to consider and pursue Woolf's criticism of Mrs. Ramsay—and in so doing she also explores Woolf's first, more tentative but equally disturbing criticism of her mother: "she took it on herself to despatch difficulties with a high hand" (MB 35); "she was impetuous, and also a little imperious; so conscious of her own burning will that she could scarcely believe that there was not something quicker and more effective in her action than in another's" (MB 39).

In "The Window" while Mrs. Ramsay is still alive, Lily shares and eloquently expresses the idealized adulation and wary criticism Woolf herself expressed in *Reminiscences.* Lily recognizes Mrs. Ramsay's "secret wisdom" and suffers from her withholdings. At the same time, Lily sees Mrs. Ramsay's deceptions and distrusts her "simple certainty." Yet Lily still feels, as did Woolf when she first tried to describe her mother, too insignificant, too inhibited and defensive, to pull all her conflicting feelings together into a coherent, balanced assessment. Lily remains diminished and fettered by her "unreal" ideal of Mrs. Ramsay, just as Woolf felt obsessed and "obscured" by that perfect, "unlovable phantom" (MB 45).

In *Time Passes* Woolf deliberately breaks the unity of her design, the

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unity Mrs. Ramsay maintained through the relief of simplicity, "not for the sake of breaking, but for the sake of creating" (AR 85). Many critics have assumed that the lighthouse beam symbolizes Mrs. Ramsay's continuing presence and influence, but in *Time Passes* the beam actually reveals Mrs. Ramsay's declining influence. As yet another "fold of the shawl loosened" (200), Mrs. Ramsay can no longer protect her husband, or the children, or the flowers from "the insensibility of nature" (207). Lily's symbolic vision of Mrs. Ramsay, the "triangular purple shape," merges with the "purplish stain on the water," the deathly mark of war, and Woolf poses questions to which there are no simple answers. From the objective, distant perspective of eternity, Mrs. Ramsay's death only reveals her final insignificance.

In "The Lighthouse" Mrs. Ramsay's "simple certainty," "the link that usually bound things together" (219), gives way to several distinct points of view. Cam and James express what Woolf felt as an adolescent and described in *Reminiscences:* they hate their tyrannical, demanding father and yearn for a perfect, idealized mother. Lily is there to face the questions she failed to answer in *The Window,* and to resolve the feelings Woolf discovered in the process of creating her mother. Now that Mrs. Ramsay is no longer present, saying "Do this," Lily thinks "anything might happen, and whatever did happen . . . was a question" (218–9).

In "The Window" when Mr. Ramsay rammed into her easel, when Mrs. Ramsay "cared not a fig for her painting" (77), Lily felt her own inadequacy, her insignificance. If she felt angry, it was anger "that had gone underground and mixed itself with all kinds of other emotions" (AR 32). Now for the first time she feels anger that is not disguised and complex, but simple and open. Seeing the children "coerced, their spirits subdued" (222), seeing Mr. Ramsay bereft, irritable, and pathetically dependent on the sympathy Mrs. Ramsay is no longer there to provide, Lily realizes (as the children cannot) that Mrs. Ramsay created the whole disaster: "that man took . . . Mrs. Ramsay had given. Giving, giving, giving, she had died—and had left all this. Really, she was angry with Mrs. Ramsay. . . . It was all Mrs. Ramsay's doing" (223).

Many readers and critics have found Lily cold and unsympathetic because she fails to carry on Mrs. Ramsay's role. Lily herself feels guilty and still inadequate, but she knows that Mrs. Ramsay's "giving" has left Mr. Ramsay with a "sickly look that nauseated her" (227). "We had our own theory too, of the way to manage him" Woolf said in *Reminiscences* (MB 52), and it was not her mother's way or Mrs.

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Ramsay's way. So Lily tells Mr. Ramsay he has nice boots. Where Mrs. Ramsay felt she had to "hide the small daily things" in order to magnify Mr. Ramsay's greatness, Lily has "lighted on small things and showed that perhaps they were not small after all" (AR 96). She finally tries that experiment, she is sincere. Unlike Mrs. Ramsay who said, "if he put implicit faith in her, nothing should hurt him" (60), Lily does not offer protection or sympathy. Instead, she offers independence, strength, freedom from his demanding ego, a "sudden recovery of vitality and interest in ordinary human things," and that proves far more important: Mr. Ramsay becomes a "very distinguished elderly man, who had no need of her whatsoever" (233, 31).[25]

Still, Lily feels inadequate and burdened by the feeling she failed to express. Having freed herself from Mr. Ramsay's demands, she must now free herself from Mrs. Ramsay's expectations. One by one, therefore, Lily recalls the simple certainties and glittering illusions Mrs. Ramsay maintained. First, she idealizes Mrs. Ramsay: she "resolved everything into simplicity . . . she brought [Charles Tansley and Lily] together . . . almost like a work of art . . . she owed it all to her" (TTL 239–241). This outburst of admiration and gratitude is often seen as the climactic pronouncement of the novel, but it is only the first stage in Lily's development. For Lily must admit, one "moment of friendship and liking" does not make Charles Tansley likeable. Mrs. Ramsay was always making "of the moment something permanent." Lily discovers that the "vision must be perpetually remade." Mrs. Ramsay arranged marriages like old-fashioned portraits, touched up with an idealizing, sentimental tint. But Minta's golden halo has disappeared, Paul is no longer flushed with passion. They may have entered into illusion glittering eyed, but they have ended up clear-sighted and disillusioned. Now Lily sees Mrs. Ramsay's *illusion* as the *mockery* it always was (151). Finally, Lily feels free to "over-ride her wishes, improve away her limited, old-fashioned ideas. . . . And one would have to say to her, It has all gone against your wishes. They're happy like that; I'm happy like this. Life has changed completely" (260).[26] Perhaps, for both Lily and Woolf, this is "the great revelation." Certainly, the result is a feeling of extraordinary excitement and extraordinary freedom: "all was miracle, and a leaping from a pinnacle of a tower into the air? Could it be, that this was life?—startling, unexpected, unknown?" (268). Behind the intensity of this language is Woolf's own desire for the unknown, the unexpected. "Think only of the jump," she "implored" women writers in *A Room of One's Own* (97). Much later, in *A Sketch of the Past*, she explained her own "vio-

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lent struggle": "The cruel thing was that . . . we were completely in the power of the past . . . By nature, both Vanessa and I were explorers, revolutionists, reformers. But our surroundings were at least fifty years behind the times" (MB 126–27).

When she finally dismisses Mrs. Ramsay's "old-fashioned ideas," Lily leaps through the past to the freedom she was about to claim when Mrs. Ramsay died: "She had been looking at the table-cloth, and it had flashed upon her that she would move the tree to the middle, and need never marry anybody, and she had felt an enormous exultation. She had felt, now she could stand up to Mrs. Ramsay—a tribute to the astonishing power that Mrs. Ramsay had over one. Do this, she said, and one did it" (262). All those years between her mother's death and writing *To the Lighthouse,* Woolf explained later, "the presence of my mother obsessed me. I could hear her voice, see her, imagine what she would do or say as I went about my day's doings" (MB 80). " 'Do this' she said, and one did it," Lily thinks. Discovering that "power over one" releases a very long felt and deeply felt emotion. And in expressing it, Woolf explains it and then laid it to rest. Through Lily Woolf has regained the freedom she lost when her mother died, preventing her from trying "one experiment after another, arguing, painting, making friends, disproving fallacies" (MB 55), and discovering, "now she could stand up to her," and "now slowly the pain of the want, and the bitter anger . . . lessened; and of their anguish left, as antidote, a relief that was balm in itself, and also, but more mysteriously, a sense of some one there, of Mrs. Ramsay" (269).

All those years, Lily had been "thinking of something other than the thing itself. . . . There was a flaw in the centre of it" (AR 77). Now, for the first time, she thinks, "one wanted . . . to be on a level with ordinary experience, to feel simply that's a chair, that's a table, and yet at the same time, It's a miracle, it's an ecstasy" (300). With a new sense of clarity and incandescence, "an odd-shaped triangular shadow over the step" (299) revives Lily's old thwarted image of Mrs. Ramsay as a "triangular purple shape." Lily begins to recall how she felt when Mrs. Ramsay was alive, offering the "relief of simplicity" but hiding her innermost thoughts and feelings. All the old conflicting feelings begin to return: " 'Mrs. Ramsay!' she cried, feeling the old horror come back—to want and want and not to have. Could she inflict that still? And then, quietly, as if she refrained, that too became part of ordinary experience, was on a level with the chair, with the table. Mrs. Ramsay—it was part of her perfect goodness—sat there quite simply, in the chair, flicked her needles to and fro, knitted her reddish-brown

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stocking, cast her shadow on the step. There she sat" (300). First, Lily realizes how much she suffered from the glove's twisted finger, from Mrs. Ramsay's wilful, commanding, insistent power "over destinies which she completely failed to understand" (78). Then Lily remembers how much she admired Mrs. Ramsay when "things came together in this peace" (96), when she could "be herself," not trying to influence anyone. Feeling, now she could stand up to Mrs. Ramsay, Lily had discovered what Woolf herself would soon conclude in *A Room of One's Own:* "it is much more important to be oneself than anything else. Do not dream of influencing other people, I would say, if I knew how to make it sound exalted. Think of things in themselves" (115).

Most readers have seen Mrs. Ramsay as emotionally and socially creative, Lily as emotionally immature, socially inadequate, and artistically inhibited.[27] I do not believe that is what *To the Lighthouse* dramatizes. Already in Part I Lily found herself capable of ecstatic communion with Mr. Bankes, both while discussing her painting (83) and while watching the ocean (34–5). In fact, she had shared with him a common pleasure in the waves of "mother of pearl" that Mrs. Ramsay, in her solitary ecstasy over the "waves of pure lemon" (99) was never able or willing to share. At the end of the novel Lily glimpses a new mode of intimacy which is less superficially supportive but ultimately more understanding and honest. She reinvigorates Mr. Ramsay, enabling him to establish a healthier, less coercive relationship with Cam and James.[28] "Whatever she had wanted to give him," Lily "had given him at last" (308–9)—not sympathy in the old Victorian manner, but tenderness and respect without dependency. Lily's vision is shared and verified by Mr. Carmichael,[29] the only other character who ever managed to penetrate Mrs. Ramsay's inner vision (146). Lily and Mr. Carmichael prove that it is possible to communicate without illusions or dependency, for "He had answered her without her asking him anything" (309). Consequently, the characters in *The Waves,* Woolf's next major novel, will no longer need to be by themselves to be themselves. They will communicate within the wedge-shaped core of darkness. Like Lily, they will exalt not sympathy but "intimacy itself, which is knowledge" (79).

To the Lighthouse did for Woolf "what psychoanalysts do for their patients" (MB 81) because Lily Briscoe's voice was "her own voice saying without prompting undeniable, everlasting, contradictory things," saying to her mother, "it has all gone against your wishes. They're happy like that; I'm happy like this" (40, 260). Years later,

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when Woolf wrote *A Sketch of the Past,* she recalled the obsession, but could no longer identify the "very long felt and deeply felt emotion." The feeling of oppression, hardship and grievance—"the pain of the want, and the bitter anger" (269)—had disappeared, once it had been ex-pressed, in the novel. For lo and behold, in the last scene the stairs "were empty."[30] The shadow on the stair—the triangular purple shadow that Woolf's obsession with her mother cast over Lily's imagination all those years—had vanished. Now, "as if she saw it clear for a second," Lily draws a line right through the center, right through the idealized, unfinished image that dominated her art and Woolf's psyche all those years.

By describing "her and my feeling for her in that book," Woolf tried her experiment and disproved the fallacies her mother lived by, thereby transforming "the greatest disaster that could happen" (MB 40) to what is, I think, the greatest work of art she could create. When *To the Lighthouse* was finished, Vanessa thought it was "like meeting her [mother] again with oneself grown up and on equal terms," and Virginia delighted first, that she had made "Mrs. Ramsay so like mother" and second, that she had not "made up a sham—an ideal."[31] Fifteen years later she explained the greatest joy of all: "when it was written, I ceased to be obsessed by my mother" (MB 81). At the end of *To the Lighthouse* Lily Briscoe and Virginia Woolf choose not to preserve Mrs. Ramsay's "simple certainty." Instead, they let time wreak its complications. "I have had my vision," they conclude, already seeing the image recede. They have learned that if vision is not to become obsession and illusion, truth "must be perpetually remade." Woolf has acquired the incandescence to reject her mother's old-fashioned, limited ideas and develop her own radical vision of life and art, to express "what I have always felt and known and desired! and one boils over with excitement" (AR 75). The excitement of that creative act, and the unspoken connection between Woolf's modernist aesthetic, feminist convictions, and personal liberation, is not only the subject of this essay, but the story of *To the Lighthouse* and *A Room of One's Own:* "for we think back through our mothers if we are women"[32] (AR 79).

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NOTES

1. *Moments of Being,* ed. Jeanne Schulkind (New York & London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976), p. 80; hereafter (MB 80). *MB* contains two memoirs, *Remi-*

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niscences, written in 1908 when Woolf was 25, and *A Sketch of the Past,* written in 1939–40 when Woolf was almost 60. *To the Lighthouse* was published in 1926.

2. Two years after the novel was finished, on her father's birthday, Woolf wrote in her diary, "I used to think of him & mother daily; but writing The Lighthouse, laid them in my mind. And now he comes back sometimes, but differently. (I believe this to be true—that I was obsessed by them both, unhealthily; & writing of them was a necessary act.) He comes back now more as a contemporary" (*The Diary,* Vol. 3, 208).
3. *Virginia Woolf's Quarrel with Grieving* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1980), Chapter 5. My own point of view is closer to Thomas A. Vogler who says in his introduction to *Twentieth Century Interpretations of "To the Lighthouse"* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970), "the tendency is to assume that we know how she felt about her parents and the early life and to find that knowledge reflected in the novel, without realizing that the relationship works both ways—that the novel, from the perspective of time, is the opportunity for Virginia Woolf to work through and discover for herself who her parents were and how she felt about them."
4. For a discussion of Woolf as an autobiographical writer who avoids imposing her ego on the reader see Robert Kiely, *Beyond Egotism: the Fiction of James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and D. H. Lawrence* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 8.
5. *A Room of One's Own* (New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1929), 24; hereafter (AR 24).
6. *To the Lighthouse* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1927), 40, 65; hereafter, (40, 65).
7. This desire spills out again in the discussion of Stella's relationship with her mother, who Woolf thinks "would no doubt have liked some brisker resistance, some intellectual opposition" (*MB,* 43).
8. *The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Vol. 3, ed. Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautman (New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1977), 383.
9. Taylor, *Spectator,* reprinted in *Virginia Woolf: The Critical Heritage,* ed. Robin Majumdar & Allen McLaurin (London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1975), 199; Hafley, *The Glass Roof: Virginia Woolf as Novelist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 80; Hartman, "Virginia's Web," *Twentieth Century Interpretations,* 80; Marder, *Feminism and Art: A Study of Virginia Woolf* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 39, 46; Spilka, 97. O. P. Sharma, "Feminism as an Aesthetic Vision and Transcendence: A Study of Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse,*" *Punjab Research Bulletin,* 3, ii (1971), 1, offers the highest panegyric of all: "Finally with the publication of *To the Lighthouse* was created the immortal sublimity of the soul of a woman, as conceived by a woman novelist."
10. *Letters,* Vol. 3, 572. Most critics emphasize the idealization. For example, Roger Poole, *The Unknown Virginia Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 14, thinks: "Virginia Woolf idolized her mother. Julia represented for her everything that was beautiful, life-giving, spontaneous, intuitive, loving, and natural." Harvena Richter, *Virginia Woolf: the Inward Voyage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 219–221, associates the novel's basic

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"rhythm of yearning, or expectation . . . with Mrs. Ramsay from whom everyone 'wants' something, whether it is love, approval, sympathy, emotional satisfaction, or the mysterious energy which her son James feels she sends forth 'like a fountain of spray.' "

11. For more critical views of Mrs. Ramsay, see Glenn Pedersen, "Vision and Design in *To the Lighthouse*," *PMLA*, 73 (Dec., 1958), 585–600; Sharon Wood Proudfit, "Lily Briscoe's Painting: A Key to the Personal Relations in *To the Lighthouse*," *Criticism*, XIII (Winter, 1971), 26–39; Carolyn Heilbrun, "The Androgynous Vision in *To the Lighthouse*," reprinted in *Virginia Woolf: A Collection of Criticism*, ed. Thomas S. W. Lewis (New York: McGraw Hill, 1975), 73–78; Suzette Henke, "Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse:* In Defense of the Woman Artist," *VWQ*, 2, i–ii (1975), 39–47. Pedersen, still Mrs. Ramsay's most outspoken critic, faults her for failing to play the traditional feminine role; the others criticize the role she plays. My own critique differs significantly from all of them.

12. Like many critics, Ruby Cohn, "Art in *To the Lighthouse*," *Modern Fiction Studies*, 8, 2 (1962), 129, admires Mrs. Ramsay's ability "to manage other people's lives."

13. Carolyn Heilbrun, 77, says, "As to marriage, certainly that is not held forth in the novel as an ideal."

14. cf. *MB*, 37.

15. Suzette Henke suggests that Mrs. Ramsay "feels the excitement of a victim confronting an oppressor . . . She is emotionally defiled, penetrated, and rent asunder" (41).

16. See *AR*, 94.

17. Spilka, 84–6, blames Mr. Ramsay for claiming maternal reassurance that should belong to the children. Oddly enough, Pedersen thinks that Mrs. Ramsay's devotion to James "supplants" Mr. Ramsay because she is a "mother who should be a wife" (587).

18. Where I see division and conflict, Norman Friedman, "The Waters of Annihilation: Double Vision in *To the Lighthouse*," *ELH*, 22 (1955), 67, sees a harmonious balance between subjective involvement and objective detachment.

19. Most critics would disagree. For example, Herbert Marder thinks "the medium in which Mrs. Ramsay exercises her creative powers is social" (40), and Alice von Buren Kelley, *The Novels of Virginia Woolf* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), believes that Mrs. Ramsay's "creative vision . . . shelters and unites" (121). Mark Spilka thinks Mrs. Ramsay is "emotionally and socially creative" (83). Louise A. Poresky, *The Elusive Self* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1981), differentiates between Mrs. Ramsay's "social role" and her "Self" (p. 136).

20. Though Woolf herself thought that "the people whom we admire most as writers . . . have something elusive, enigmatic, impersonal about them." *The Moment and Other Essays* (London: Hogarth Press, 1947), 137.

21. Phyllis Rose, *Woman of Letters: A Life of Virginia Woolf* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 154, says "by introducing as a complex observer of the Ramsays' marriage the touchy, somewhat defensive spinster and aspiring artist Lily Briscoe, Woolf finds the way to express her continued ambivalence toward her parents and her sense of the threat they posed to her identity."

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22. cf. Woolf's comments about "the Victorian game of manners," *MB* 129.
23. As Sidney Janet Kaplan says, *Feminine Consciousness in the Modern British Novel* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1975), 104, "What Lily desires, ultimately, is an almost religious kind of communion with Mrs. Ramsay."
24. This is obviously connected with Woolf's vision of her own mother as the "creator . . . and centre of my childhood" (*MB* 84). It may also be connected to the tree that became "the symbol of sorrow" (*MB* 56) after Stella's death, and "the apple tree [that] was connected with the horror of Mr. Valpy's suicide" (*MB* 71).
25. Interpretations of this scene differ widely. For a variety of responses, see Heilbrun, 78, Henke, 44, Vogler, 20, Bazin, 130 and Rose, 160. Woolf's conclusions about the way her mother treated her father seem to support my interpretation of Lily's behavior: "Every afternoon we went for a walk. Later these walks became a penance—father must have one of us to walk with him—mother, too much obsessed with his health, his pleasure, was too willing, I think now, to offer us up for sacrifice on that altar, leaving thus a legacy of dependence on his side which became a terrible imposition after her death. . . . How much better it would have been for him and for us if she had left him to walk alone; to overwork if he chose. His health was her fetish; she died of overwork easily at forty-nine: he found it very difficult to die of cancer at seventy-two" (*MB* 114).
26. Thus I cannot agree with A. D. Moody, "To the Lighthouse," *Twentieth Century Interpretations,* that "Lily is shown doing almost exactly what Mrs. Ramsay had done in Part I." In retrospect Woolf saw this change all too clearly: "Here of course, from my distance of time, I perceive what one could not then see—the difference of age. Two different ages confronted each other in the drawing room at Hyde Park Gate: the Victorian age; and the Edwardian age" (126).
27. Kiely's comment, "Mrs. Ramsay is warm, pliant, gracious, and selfless . . . She 'sacrifices' herself to her husband, children, and friends. Lily Briscoe is cool, concentrated, brittle, and self-centered. She 'saves' herself for her art," is typical (68).
28. As David Daiches explains in *Virginia Woolf* (New York: New Directions, 1963), 86–7, "it is significant that Virginia Woolf makes Mr. Ramsay escape from his egotistic preoccupations for the first time just before the boat finally reaches the lighthouse."
29. See *To the Lighthouse,* p. 146, and Jean Elliott, "The Protean Image: The Role of Mr. Carmichael in *To the Lighthouse,*" *Studies in the Novel,* 12, 4 (Winter, 1980), 359–67.
30. Where I emphasize Mrs. Ramsay's climatic disappearance, most critics have stressed her presence and continuing influence. For example, David Daiches, 95, says "symbolically, the past returns and shapes the present. Mrs. Ramsay comes back into Lily Briscoe's picture, as she had been part of the original design ten years before"; Herbert Marder says, 46, "we are to believe that [Mrs. Ramsay's] influence, continuing after her death, finally reconciles the father and his partially alienated children"; Mark Spilka thinks, 102, that Lily "must not only come to terms with Mrs. Ramsay before she can finish her painting, she must also emulate her creativity in life, in marriage, at every step of her artistic work. Her artistry is in fact a maternal inheritance, a distilled

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result of maternal guidance long-delayed by death and emotional arrest"; Clair Kahane, "The Nuptials of Metaphor: Self and Other in Virginia Woolf," *Literature and Psychology,* XXX, 2 73, thinks, "Constructing a unified whole seems to have signified restoring the wholeness of her mother, an internal restoration which would implicitly integrate the shards of her own fragmented psyche." Vijay Kapur, *Virginia Woolf's Vision of Life and Her Search for Significant Form* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1979), 74, says, "Lily's yearning to attain unity with Mrs. Ramsay is fulfilled."

31. *Letters,* Vol. 3, 383, 572.

32. For a discussion of this theme in the novel, see Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope, *The Female Hero in American and British Literature* (London: R. R. Bowker, 1981), 212, 216; they conclude Lily "no longer needs Mrs. Ramsay, for she has become her own mother."

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Reviews

ROGER NORTH, *General Preface and Life of Dr John North,* edited by Peter Millard. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984. Pp. x + 214.

The publication of this edition of Roger North's "General Preface" and his "Life of Dr. John North" is an important event for students of biography and of eighteenth century literature. It contains the first complete edition of North's pioneering "General Preface" and a newly edited version of "Life of Dr. John North." Both works represent valuable additions to our understanding of North's role as one of the most important early biographers in English.

North's "General Preface" had never been published at all until James Clifford printed excerpts in *Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism, 1560–1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 27–37. Clifford's selections stressed those ideas which seemed to anticipate Boswell and Johnson. And indeed North's anticipation of them is remarkable, for he particularly stressed the value of detailed lives of ordinary people; he rejected the notion that "low" details would lack interest or value for readers, or that only persons of great public importance should become the subjects of biography. He also insisted on the importance of the biographer's knowing his subject personally and on a rigid adherence to truth. All of these points may also be found in Johnson's *Rambler,* No. 60.

As revealing as they were, Clifford's selections represent only about 25% of the whole, and there are bountiful rewards in having the complete version. However, because North was a digressive stylist, unable to resist an attractive "excursion" from the topic, the full text does not always represent new material on biography. Sometimes, one finds additional statements which merely reinforce, though in striking ways, the ideas familiar from Clifford's version. For example, we find North further explaining his notions of truth in biography; he knows that truth, if deprived of the proper context, can appear to be mere "romance" "and that pieces or scraps of truth are not in strictness truth, but rather enigmas." Thus North, a successful lawyer, concludes that, "if in biography one would not mislead folks into extravagancies, it is required that the truth be unfolded just as in a legal testimony, whole, sole, and nothing else" (p. 70).

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Other passages not in Clifford are valuable for providing examples of North's satiric wit, which was often directed at his own time. His witty thrusts are important to understanding North as a biographer, for his impulse to write the lives of his brothers stems partly from his indignation at the treatment they received from their contemporaries. His writings are designed to redress the balance. And North, a staunch Tory, was frequently outraged during the Whig triumph of the early 18th century. He sardonically argues that "antique histories" are irrelevant as guides to modern morals because of changes in manners: "to give one instance, public spirit was the glory of the ancient grandees or heroes; now that is the character of a fool" (p. 63).

Some of the most interesting of the "new" passages in the "General Preface" show North's attempts to place his new sort of biography—of private men, with attention to their everyday deeds and their domestic qualities—into the moral and artistic contexts of his age. A stern moralist, North naturally considered the moral effect of the "private" biographies he was advocating upon their readers, and this process led him to make a number of suggestive comparisons. He sees the effect of biography as similar to the educational events of travel, "in which method all the good that is gathered is historical," but unlike travel, biographies avoid the evils of "vicious company"—those "scoundrels and hang-bys that are leaguer [in seige] in every place, like spiders watching to seize upon raw gentlemen who come near their web" (p. 57). Unlike them, North maintains, "Books are always friendly, because they are not calculated to anyone's particular humour, to meet with his foible, as rascally company, with their flatteries and treacherous insinuations" (pp. 57–59). North seeks to establish the value of biography by associating it with this ancient and popular component of humanistic education; then he trumps the comparison by demonstrating biography's moral superiority to travel.

North uses a similar strategy in comparing the effect of "pompous histories" of states and empires to the effect of romances. He argues that both appeal to the same passions, because the reader is induced to take sides in the great historical struggles described. Thus the motives of reading "the gravest of histories" are not more noble than those of reading "the most frivilous of romances." In both, "there is really found little but self-conceit and pride." Private histories, "in which no handles are held out for uplifting vain humours," would be "incomparably more profitable" from the ethical standpoint (p. 62). Whatever the merits of this argument, it is consistent with North's view that practical, down-to-earth experience represented by biography is more valuable than much of the literature in the usual educational curriculum of his day.

This theme of the value of the everyday is central to what is North's most daring comparison—of biography to dramatic comedy. North argues that comedies are universally popular "because they show, though feignedly, the manners of men in mean states and conditions." Thus biography, with the advantage of truth, can be even more moving, because it builds on the same foundation. He asks, "if fiction is contrived to touch the passion, why may not truth effectually touch the understanding?"

The comparison to comedy is designed to show that biography as North conceives it would have the same appeal as the most popular literature. But just as North stresses the special value of truth to distinguish biography from popular fiction, so also does he emphasize the historian's reponsibility to provide moral guidance. To illustrate this point, he gives two accounts of Julius Caesar's life, with different moral commentary, to show the value of proper interpretation, even in complex situations where moral distinctions are not easy (pp. 72–76). Arguing pragmatically, North con-

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cludes that histories must contain more than "pure facts" because readers are seldom "right reasoners." "In truth very few have sagacity enough to discern moral consequences," he observes, adding that most are, "so lazy in thinking, as well as reading, that it is needful to afford them some help . . ." (p. 75).

In Mr. Millard's complete text we get a clear sense that North's bold and intelligent defense of biography was part of his deeply humanistic approach to writing and to life. These arguments show how North went beyond his personal desire to memorialize his brothers, all of whom seemed to him "virtuous, wise, and exemplary" (p. 81). Mr. Millard aptly defined Roger North's motives as arising from his reaction against "the impermanence of things" and as "a protest against death" (p. 13). However, in addition, North clearly wished to erect an objective structure of moral and artistic values which focus upon the effect of his works on his readers, not himself or his family. By revealing the full extent of North's theories of the affective power of biography, these newly published portions of the "General Preface," make clear the literary sophistication and humanistic range of his approach.

Though Roger North thought of his works as "prey of worms" to be seen only by family and friends, he worked diligently on them, leaving four separate versions of "The Life of Dr. John North." It is the shortest of Roger North's biographies and in some ways it must have been the most difficult to write. John North was a man who always refused to have his portrait painted, insisted that all his papers be burnt, and lived much of his life as a scholarly recluse.

When Montague North, Roger's son, prepared this biography for publication in 1744, he made numerous changes to polish his father's rough, conversational style, and he cut several passages to eliminate some personal or provocative comments. He also excised a 125-page digression on the new science, which his father could not resist including in the middle of the biography. Mr. Millard is the first editor to return to the language of the original manuscript and to restore the deleted passages, but he has wisely followed Montague North's decision to omit the digression on the new science —though it would have been welcome in an appendix.

"The Life of Dr. John North" is often regarded as the least successful of North's three biographies, but Mr. Millard argues cogently that the paucity of available materials allowed Roger North to contruct a more unified portrait that he was able to do for his other brothers. Freed of the task of assimilating a vast accumulation of private papers, Roger was able to concentrate on his brother's remarkable, troubled character. Though containing little chronological narrative, the biography attains a notable clarity about John's character and an impressive formal balance.

That form is a simple tragic cycle. John North was a talented and good man who enjoyed considerable success until his physical and emotional weaknesses doomed him to wretchedness and an early death. In the early part of the life, we are shown John North's rise to academic prominence, in spite of his "nice and tender constitution" (p. 98). In a series of anecdotes concerning his personality and youthful education, we see both his impressive strengths and his fatal weaknesses. He was afraid of ghosts, for example, but when one seemed to appear in his room on a moonlit night, he rose to confront it—only to discover that it was "only a towell hung against a wall" (p. 103). He was a curious and intense man, who kept spiders in glass jars in his rooms and "diverted himself" by watching them feed, fight, and cast off their skins. He enjoyed the companionship of scholars and of his family, and among his friends he could be witty and entertaining.

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He was successful in his academic career, becoming first a fellow at Jesus College, then gaining a preferment in the church. The resulting income allowed him to live as he wished at Cambridge, collect a choice library, and pay visits to London and Oxford. At the height of his success, he preached a sermon before Charles II, and received an appointment as the king's Clerk of the Closet. After some time spent at court in this post, he moved to Trinity College, where he became Professor of Greek and Doctor of Divinity. Finally, after the death of Isaac Barrow, he was elevated to Master of Trinity. By the age of 32, he had fullfilled all his ambitions.

But his very success led to his unhappy end. John North thought himself happy enough "as a common master of arts in the college," and though his new honors and revenues might be expected to increase his happiness, the effect was just the reverse. As Roger remarks, "but oh, the difference of a private condition and magistry." After several paragraphs on the accumulation of John's honors and accounts of his success, Roger comments on the turning point of the cycle: ". . . I have here undertaken the life of a person who, like a flourishing fruit tree, blossomed fairly, and then underwent a fatal blight that destroyed fruit and tree altogether . . ." (p. 127).

Roger gives an account of John's ideas and of the scholarly and religious works he intended to write, but he adds that none of these works were published, because John soon was overwhelmed by a "fatal illness." Here, roughly half way through his biography, Roger begins to concentrate on the "catastrophe"; the final half of the book largely consists of a catalogue of John's weaknesses and illnesses. Roger also describes the ugly situation that emerged in Trinity College, as John's strictness made him an unpopular master. Roger tells of a dinner in John's rooms, at which he was present, when a large stone came crashing through the windows.

Roger's anecdotes make it clear that John had always been a difficult personality, too solitary or intense for general society, and inclined to suffer from imaginary ailments. He was continually in dread of losing his eyesight, for instance, and "he soon lost all that imagination could deprive him of" (p. 141).

John's final illness, made worse both by his severe, contentious mode of living and by his doctors' misguided treatments, made his last five years anxious and painful. Despite some positive accomplishments, such as his completion of the contruction on Christopher Wren's great college library, and some happy interludes when the family managed to remove him from Cambridge, the fatal course of John's diseases hangs heavy over these pages. Suffering from frequent epileptic fits, John sometimes regressed into "puerility"; lost his memory, and desired only to repeat "reptile conceits" and smutty stories. To his family "he seemed as an high-flying fowl with one wing cut" (p. 156).

Roger's portrait of John resembles Dryden's portrait in *Absalom and Achitophel* of the frail but brilliant Achitophel:

> A fiery Soul, which working out its way,
> Fretted the Pigmy Body to decay:
> And o'r inform'd the Tenement of Clay. (ll. 156–58)

The difference between the two is that John North was completely upright. Though his final years were miserable, and the vestiges of his learning and intelligence at his death were few, Roger does not believe that he was a failure. Even when his mind and body collapsed, his will remained firm and his morals admirable. Even in the worst of his tribulations, his soul was uncorrupted: "He governed himself as well as he could; his submission was absolute, and his patience exquisite." Though Roger's sympathy

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for his brother sometimes appears makes his account seem partial, his overall view of his brother, as Mr. Millard concludes, seems true.

Mr. Millard's edition of the biography represents a substantial improvement over the earlier published versions. Millard presents an accurate, discretly modernized text, with extensive, well-informed notes. These includes some revealing passages which appeared only in the earlier manuscripts of the life. Millard's introduction is also admirable. It presents the best brief biography of Roger North, a fine essay on the "General Preface," which sets it in the context of eighteenth-century ideas and practices of biography, and a perceptive analysis of North as a biographer. Millard's writing is always lucid and his scholarship thorough.

This volume represents an important part of the current reassessment of Roger North, who seems finally to be coming into his own as a biographer and man of letters. In recent years, there have been several significant scholarly editions of his works. John Wilson published *Roger North on Music* (1959), F. J. M. Korsten edited a collection of North's previously unpublished essays in 1981, and Howard Colvin and John Newman edited Roger North's writings on architecture in the same year. It is to be hoped that Mr. Millard will continue his efforts and give us new editions of the two other biographies, of Francis and Dudley North, and of Roger's autobiographical memoir, "Notes of Me."

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Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist. *Mikhail Bakhtin.* Cambridge Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984. pp. xvi + 398; $25.00.

Even within our eclectic, uncertain and acutely self-conscious critical community, literary biography remains the one genre which can apparently still claim some kind of authority over its subject. Critical articles and books appear by the hundreds, but the scholarly biography generally holds a place of privilege as the most informed word on a writer's life and works.

A number of valid reasons lie behind biography's special status. The sheer amount of time biographers spend researching and writing a life insures that if nothing else, they have thought for a while about their subject. The power of minutiae also has its effect. Despite the proverbial woods-for-the-trees, anyone who knows what Jack London was doing every day of his life develops a kind of intuitive understanding which almost has to pay off critically. Finally, literary biographers often have written as critics about their subject, gaining in the process a reputation solid enough to earn the essential help of various relatives, private collectors and publishers. All these credentials don't rule out the possibility of a dull, sloppy or stupid book, but for the most part, the biographer stands out as the one critic on an author whose judgment can't be ignored.

As co-authors of *Mikhail Bakhtin,* a biography of the 20th Century Russian intellectual whose writings on language and literature have recently exerted a strong influence on scholars in a variety of disciplines, Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist would seem to have all the credentials necessary to write a first-rate biography. Their expertise as translators and Slavic scholars gives them a certain immediate authority over those of us who like Paul de Man "ignore the Russian language" (100), and the many interviews Clark and Holquist conducted with Bakhtin's friends and disciples

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grant their book that depth of familiarity with its subject which strictly critical works almost by definition lack. Clark, and particularly Holquist, were also well-known Bakhtin scholars long before writing his biography. As editor and co-translator of *The Dialogic Imagination,* editor of the forthcoming *The Architectonics of Answerability* and *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays,* and indefatigable champion of Bakhtin's cause in critical introductions and critical essays, Holquist has become America's best-known authority on the writer he calls "one of the leading thinkers of the twentieth century" (xv).

And yet, for all Clark's and Holquist's undeniable learning and enthusiasm, *Mikhail Bakhtin* is a frustrating, uneven, and at times virtually unreadable biography. Part of the problem lies in the Bakhtin phenomenon itself. Literary biographies necessarily chart a course between the poles of personal deification and critical advocacy. The biographer must guard against being so blinded by the subject's literary success that the life becomes a story of the artist's humble service to personal genius. Conversely, the biographer must also check the desire to say the definitive, valorizing word about the subject's works by writing a compelling, unanswerable biography. In Bakhtin's case, the danger of drifting too far in either direction is especially acute, since the intensity of the current, almost cultic interest in his writing is matched only by the general degree of ignorance about his life and intellectual milieu. Bakhtin passed almost his entire life in obscurity—his talents overlooked or cagily hidden, his works unpublished or ignored. And yet, through the efforts of scholars like Kozhinov in Russia, Todorov in France, and Holquist in America, Bakhtin has become for the moment one of the most widely-read and influential of twentieth-century theorists. Very aware of these paradoxes, Holquist and Clark essentially respond by writing two books only loosely bound together: the one a reverent biographical introduction to Bakhtin's many friends, places of residence, and misfortunes; the other an exhaustive and highly partisan summary of his published and unpublished writings.

Since anyone involved in the highly-contentious Bakhtin debate will inevitably concentrate on how the biographers deal with the master's main ideas, most prominent reviews have taken issue with how Clark and Holquist managed the critical side. Gary Saul Morson quite rightly takes issue with the biography's running argument that "the germ of Bakhtin's essays and books is really present in his first work, an obscure and perhaps derivative exercise in neo-Kantianism, which Bakhtin neither finished nor published" (32). And Tsvetan Todorov dismisses both the biography and American scholarship in general: "The authors have no voice of their own but are content to paraphrase Bakhtin's thoughts," largely because "the rules for research and publication which American academics observe have led them to remain strictly within the genre of 'historical study' and forbidden them to enter on that of 'substantive criticism' " (676).

Far more puzzling than these objections, however, is the effusive praise—"marvelous" and "an unquestioned success"—both reviewers grant to the biographical portions of the book. For it is as a biography that *Mikhail Baktin* is weakest. Particularly in the portraits of its main characters, the book at times reads almost like a parody of biographical techniques. Dr. Johnson's advice to look for some distinguishing physical or behavioral quirk becomes a kind of cruel joke in the portrait of Bakhtin's wife, who after a few details about her background spends the rest of the biography either copying out her husband's manuscripts or making tea. The same weaknesses appear in the account of Bakhtin himself. For all the details Clark and Holquist give us, Bakhtin remains a sketchy figure. His friends, and particularly Maria Veniaminovna

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Yudina, are far more interesting than he is, largely because his biographers sit him quietly off to one side as a kind of seer or sage. We hear for example of his fine sense of humor and love of a good joke, but get few examples to prove it. Or we are told in Chapter One about the intense, almost symbiotic relationship between Bakhtin and his brother Nikolai, but soon learn that there was no contact whatever between the two after the early 1920's—well before Bakhtin began writing in earnest. Throughout the book Clark and Holquist seem to be grasping for details, desperately trying to establish an environment or a colorful supporting cast of characters for a figure who for all of his personal upheavals appears here at least as one of the dullest of possible subjects for a biography.

Compounding this problem is lack of integration between the biographical and critical material. A quick glance at the Table of Contents reveals that well over half of the book's three hundred and fifty pages deals with specific texts, and with the exception of the chapter on *Rabelais and his World*—an excellent integration of Bakhtin's study and the conditions of its production under Stalinism—these discussions would be far more at home in scholarly journals or in a critical study like Todorov's *Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogical Principle.* Any reader primarily interested in Bakhtin's life must therefore wade through a dense series of theoretical summaries, often losing in the process the trail of the man himself. The most egregious example of such forestalling can stand for the rest: over one hundred pages of textual analysis lie between the last sentence of Chapter Five, "The Bakhtins set off for Kustanai in 1930," and the first sentence of Chapter 12, "In 1930 Bakhtin arrived with his wife at his place of exile." Clark and Holquist are writing two books, but the overall effect is that of a critical study fleshed out with some interlarded biographical chapters.

What then are reviewers praising in this biography? Clearly, something that they turn to almost by default: the hard work necessary to write biography, even when it doesn't pay off critically for the biographer. In fact, both Morson and Todorov blame the book's critical failings on its biographical nature. Morson calls Clark's and Holquist's theory of consistency within Bakhtin's texts a symptom of "the biographer's fallacy"—apparently the tendency to explain a person's life in terms of a simple-minded paradigm. Todorov goes further: "the biographical genre imposes constraints on those who practice it: the mere act of devoting a book to an author implies admiration and it is hard to contradict that admiration within the book itself" (676). In short, responsible biography makes for bad criticism. Those who can, think; those who can't, provide a useful if menial service by ferreting out and writing up the historical details. To quote Todorov's classic example of damning with faint praise, "Clark and Holquist's book will henceforth be an indispensible tool for all "Bakhtinologists", but it has little to say to the reader simply interested in the social nature of man—he or she will be crushed rather than enlightened by the scholarship" (676).

Bakhtin's biographers and their critics are united in this particular: all of them take a proprietary interest in Bakhtin's works, and at the biography's expense. Clark's and Holquist's book goes beyond Harold Nicolson's notion of "impure biography," for instead of showing a "desire to compose the life of an individual as an illustration of some extraneous theory or conception" (9–10), the book attempts to reshape Bakhtin's life into an illustration of the authors' particular interpretations of his theories—most notably, that the key to his entire canon is an unpublished work "to which Bakhtin never assigned a title but which is here called *The Architechtonics of Answerability*" (63). This attempt is not an example of "the biographer's fallacy." Rather, it's an all too common example of "critic's fallacy," the notion that biography's major task is to support with extra-literary evidence a scholar's critical insights.

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Why then write the biography at all? Oddly enough, one possible answer to this question suggests that literary biography still has the potential to exert a kind of critical authority, even upon writers whose theoretical interests lie elsewhere. Part of this authority is traditional, the accumulated weight of those magisterial biographies so much a part of our literary heritage. But part of this authority arises from the current critical interest in historiography and ideological criticism. the "new" literary history which views Bakhtin as one of its major spokesmen. For the most part, its advocates have studiously avoided biography. The intentional fallacy still leaves its traces, and Bakhtin himself claimed that an author's life does not enter directly into the structure of a literary work (Voloshinov 109). But the desire to make literature once more a social text is almost inevitably carrying criticism toward the literary creators, standing as they do at the nexus of art and history. In *Mikhail Bakhtin.* Clark and Holquist are attempting to carry out this project, and they arrive at conclusions which emphasize the Christian and Russian dimensions of Bakhtin's thought while at the same time insisting on the coherence and continuity of his life's work. The biography's split structure, dull exposition and theoretical abstraction thus result more from a wealth of critical interest than from any poverty of information. *Mikhail Bakhtin* attempts to enlist biography in the service of critical exposition, but from both a theoretical and a historical perspective the knot between the two remains to be tied.

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CHARLES LACHMAN

On the Artist's Biography in Sung China: The Case of Li Ch'eng

I

Though innumerable cultures have nourished art traditions of one sort or another, only a handful have ever generated what Joseph Alsop has recently labelled the "by-products" of art, such as the practice of art collecting and the concept of art history [Alsop 1982:16]. Somewhat ironically, in China—for the Northern Sung period (960–1127), at least—the surviving by-products, particularly in the form of writings about art, outweigh by far the extant paintings from this era that can be unquestionably accepted as authentic.[1]

In spite of this disparity, these textual sources have played a decidedly minor role in the modern reconstruction of the history of Chinese painting, owing not to simple neglect but rather to a conscious methodological decision based on the premise that such writings have little to contribute to the art historian's central concern: namely, the elucidation of pictorial style. As Professor Max Loehr argues in his oft-cited article, "Some Fundamental Issues in the History of Chinese Painting," ". . . style is the historian's proper element and domain of inquiry because it is this element alone that makes it possible to get beyond a history of artists or a descriptive catalogue of works toward a meaningfully ordered whole" [Loehr 1964:186]; and as support for this position he quotes with approval Arnold Hauser's dictum that "the criteria of stylistic quality and the criteria of what is relevant for art history are the same" [Hauser 1959:165].

In short, the model which has long dominated Chinese art-historical studies takes its lead from the so-called New Criticism that originated in the 1920s, stressing the autonomy of the artwork and its internal

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features while relegating "irrelevant" historical and biographical data to the periphery. In recent years, however, such views have been increasingly challenged, particularly by historians of Western art traditions [see Barzun 1975; Alpers 1977; Edel 1981; and Honour and Fleming 1982:9–10].

Though their specific concerns may vary, these scholars are united by a common attempt to place the work of art—whether literary, musical, or visual—in a richer context than it has previously enjoyed. The justification for this, as James Ackerman explains it, is that

> . . . the experiences of the artist inevitably bring him into contact with his environment and traditions; he cannot work in a historical vacuum. So we would need to know what the artist had seen and done before, what he sees and does now for the first time, what he or his patron wishes to accomplish, how his intentions and solutions mature in the course of production. . . . In short, we would formulate the history of art primarily in terms of contexts rather than developments. Since knowledge of the context in which a single work is produced involves an awareness of the total environment of the artist, our capacity to generalize about styles would not be impaired but heightened by a constant awareness of the tension between the uniqueness of the individual and the pressures of prevailing modes of expression [Ackerman 1960:261].

Accordingly, when viewed from this vantage point, biographical data lose their marginal status and become of central importance in the attempt to understand the artist's "total environment."

While there is evidence to suggest that some historians of Chinese art are becoming more responsive to such a context-oriented method,[2] the gap between theory and practice has yet to be successfully bridged. That is to say, though the value of biographical texts, for example, has been increasingly recognized in principle, very little attention has been paid to the difficult problems of interpretation posed by such sources, problems that must be confronted and resolved if whatever information they may yield is actually to be put to use.

The present essay will focus upon several early biographical accounts related to the tenth-century master Li Ch'eng (919–967), in an attempt to bring the contours of this hermeneutic conundrum into sharper relief. Though deliberately narrow in scope, this inquiry aims to elucidate the general characteristics of artists' biographies in Sung China, and to throw light on the ways in which a biography may be shaped by a given author's "image of the artist" [Kris and Kurz 1979:11].

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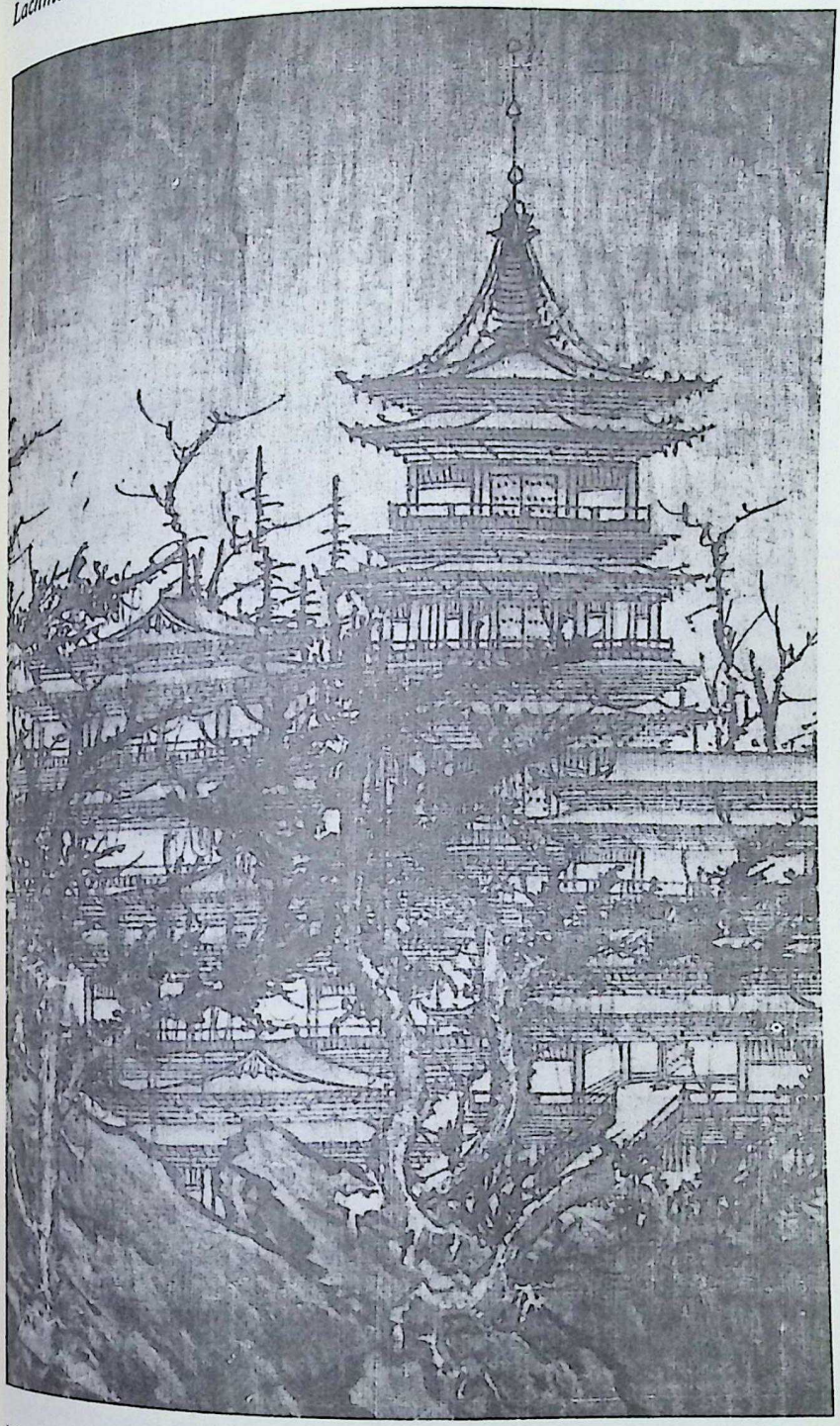

"A Solitary Monastery Amid Clearing Peaks" (detail), attributed to Li Ch'eng. *Courtesy of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.*

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II

Acclaimed in his lifetime as the foremost painter of his day, Li Ch'eng "exerted an influence rivaled by only two or three other artists in Chinese history . . . and there is no doubt that he fulfilled the promise of the title bestowed upon him by Sung critics: 'Master to a hundred generations' " [Barnhart 1972:15]. The earliest known biographical account of Li appears in the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing* ("Evaluations of Sung Dynasty Painters of Renown"), compiled *circa* 1059 by Liu Tao-ch'un, where he is placed above all other landscape painters at the head of the Inspired Class *(shen p'in).* The entry is brief enough that it may be given here in full:

> Li Ch'eng, a native of Ying-ch'iu, was descended from an honorable family of professional scholar-officials. From his youth, he excelled at literary composition and was a talented painter of landscapes, trees, and rocks, which were hailed as the very best by his contemporaries.
>
> During the K'ai-pao reign era (968–976),[3] a certain Sun Szu-hao extended invitations to masters from the four corners of the land. Although he was aware of the fact that a skilled artist like Ch'eng would not be easily persuaded, he still sent him a letter of invitation. Ch'eng replied, "I am a scholar by birth and have always known whom to avoid. By nature, I love mountains and rivers, but I wield a brush only for my own satisfaction. How could I go galloping off to the home of a rich and powerful family to mingle with mere artisans?" Thus, he did not accept.
>
> Biding his time, Sun dispatched someone to go to Ying-ch'iu and entice an official there with fat bribes, and he eventually netted several paintings. Some time later, Ch'eng came to the capital to participate in the examinations for the Doctorate of Letters *(chin-shih).* He assembled with the others at the Spring Agency, and Sun humbly repeated his invitation. Ch'eng felt obliged to pay him a visit, but when he saw his paintings, however, he was taken aback and thus departed in anger.
>
> Each time that the Emperor saw Li's brushwork he could not help admiring it, and for this reason both Li's reputation and the value of his works increased greatly.
>
> A certain Liu Li, an auxiliary in the Bureau of History, was esteemed in his day as an astute critic. He once saw one of Ch'eng's landscapes at the apartments of the prince Ts'ao Wu-hui and, admiring it to no end, wrote the following poem: "On six pure silk scrolls hanging in the Azure Pavilion/ precipitous peaks contend majestically with layered ranges of mountains./ In the evening, when raindrops fall on the plantain leaves/ the sound seems to come from the cliff-front waterfall." Connoisseurs will know that this is a perceptive description.
>
> Li Ch'eng arrived at the very essence of painting, and penetrated Cre-

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ation itself, and when his brushwork was completed it embodied his intentions. With one sweep of his brush, a thousand miles are captured within a square-foot, and a myriad phenomena are delineated in the space of a fingertip, while monasteries and retreats materialize among piled-up mountain peaks and ridges—this is most exquisite! Down to the dense forests, scattered trees, deep springs and shallow streams, it is just as if one had arrived at the actual scene. His conceptions are pure, and his style is archaic, though in Antiquity there was no one like him.

During the Ching-yu reign era (1034–1038), Ch'eng's grandson Li Yu was serving as Governor of Kaifeng prefecture. He instructed the monk Hui-ming, from the Hsiang-kuo Monastery, to buy up Ch'eng's paintings for double the going rate. People flocked as though to market to return them and, as a result, nowadays there are few of Li Ch'eng's works left [SCMHP 2/1b–2b].

III

Viewed in terms of the modern expectation that a biography should recreate or simulate a person's life in all its fullness and complexity [Garraty 1957:3; Kendall 1965:15], the above account of Li Ch'eng is disappointingly meagre. Moreover, much of what little we are given turns out, on closer inspection, to consist of set-phrases and themes that go back in the literature at least as far as the T'ang,[4] while further questions have been raised about the reliability of even the "personal" anecdotes cited by Liu [Bush 1971:80–81].

An awareness of the dubious historical accuracy of such accounts led one early commentator to conclude that "Chinese art history abounds with cock and bull stories . . . which throw but little light on the real character and development of the art" [Hirth 1905:421]. However, as Denis Twitchett has pointed out with regard to Chinese biographical writings in general—and it is equally true of artists' biographies—these fictional incidents were not merely the random products of an active imagination, but rather were deliberately chosen "as a subtle and indirect means of indicating the character of the biography's subject" [Twitchett 1962:30]. Consequently, to be concerned solely with the question of whether this or that statement or anecdote has a factual basis is to overlook a fundamental dimension of the text: namely, the calculated "image" that the author seeks to project.

Keeping this sort of authorial intent in mind, a rereading of Liu's account of Li Ch'eng very quickly reveals that each of its various threads is indeed part of a larger design, in this case one that portrays the artist as an essentially conservative, if somewhat impetuous, defender of contemporary social values. Born to a long line of profes-

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sional officials and obviously well-educated himself, Li is shown as quick to draw a sharp line between the scholar who paints for his own satisfaction and the common artisan for whom painting is merely a means by which to earn a living.

This artist/artisan distinction has deep roots in Chinese art history[5] and underlies the amateur/professional distinction that was so important to late eleventh-century theories of *shih-jen hua;* or "literati painting" [see Bush 1971:1–13]. But while Li clearly sees himself here as superior to mere hired hands, painters in general—even great ones—were still looked down upon at mid-century.

A glimpse of this phenomenon is afforded by the anecdote of Li Yu's attempt to purchase all of the paintings attributed to his grandfather that he could get his hands on. Modern readers, accustomed to the "super prices" commanded by established masterpieces, may see nothing more than wise investment-strategy in Li Yu's behaviour, but Wai-kam Ho has perceptively hinted at the fact that he was perhaps motivated more by embarrassment than by business acumen or a love of art [Ho 1972:267]. That is, while being a high-minded artist was far better than being a professional artisan, being an artist at all was nonetheless something less than praiseworthy. Accordingly, the removal from general circulation of as many of Li's paintings as possible can be read as an attempt—motivated by a desire to preserve the Li family honor—to suppress the evidence of the familial patriarch's ignoble activity.

It might be noted in this connection that Li Ch'eng is included in the official *Sung History* solely on the strength of the achievements of his son, Li Chüeh, to whose entry a generally disapproving paragraph about the father is appended [SS 431/28a]: despite the critics' nearly universal acclaim for his art, that alone was clearly not enough to secure a place for Li in the Imperial records.

Several other early sources attest to the fact that Chüeh, who served in the Department of History, was also concerned with his father's reputation. For instance, Wang P'i-chih's *Sheng-shui yen-t'an lu* (*circa* 1096) reports that Chüeh commissioned Sung Po (936–1012), a well-known belletrist, to write an epitaph for Li Ch'eng, that he had his remains reinterred in a more stately tomb, and that he had the posthumous title "Official of the Imperial Banquet Courts" *(kuang-lu szu ch'eng)* conferred upon him.[6]

But if artists were generally viewed as social inferiors through most of the Northern Sung dynasty, it nonetheless remains that painting had achieved a certain prestige and respectability by the latter portion

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of the period, due primarily to the influence of the multi-talented Su Shih (1037–1107) and the elite coterie that grew up around him. As has been noted, an important aspect of the new Scholar's art championed by this group is that it was practiced by amateurs; equally important, however, is that these practitioners were also scholar-officials [Bush 1971:31]. In other words, while it was now acceptable, even desirable, for a scholar-official also to be a painter, anyone who was *only* a painter continued to be viewed with some disdain.[7]

Although it was written several decades before Su Shih and his friends systematically formulated their views of *shih-jen hua,* the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing* nonetheless displays a remarkably similar outlook insofar as it, too, expresses disdain for professional artisans. Throughout the text we find that Liu reserves his highest praise for amateur painters who shunned the official Academies *(hua-yüan),* men such as Fan K'uan (ranked behind Li Ch'eng as an Inspired landscapist) and Chao Kuang-fu (an Inspired painter in two categories—Figures and Horses—who fled to his hometown after having been commanded to enter the Academy). Even in the Bird and Flower category, perhaps the quintessential Academic genre, Liu prefers the work of the unconventional Hsü Hsi, who shunned public office and lived as a retired scholar, to that of Huang Ch'üan, who was made a Painter-in-Attendance at the age of seventeen and served the Painting Academy of the Former Shu state for over forty years [SCMHP 1/4a–b; 9b–10a; 2/2b–3a; 3/1a–4a].

Beyond this fundamental artisan/amateur distinction, however, Liu attaches no further strings to his acceptance of painting as in and of itself worthwhile, unlike the many later theorists who were willing to accept painting as one of the polite arts so long as it was practiced by scholar officials in their leisure time. Indeed, his unqualified praise for the works of Li Ch'eng, Chao Kuang-fu, and Hsü Hsi, for example—all of them painters who seem not to have distinguished themselves in any other endeavors—sets his position apart from both the earlier view that all artists were social inferiors, and the later view that only social superiors could truly be artists. For Liu, in short, to be a great painter was itself an estimable achievement.

This contention is reflected in the very structure of the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing,* for while Liu's blending of biography and art criticism is not itself unique (in fact, it is characteristic of comparable texts), he was nevertheless the first critic to place the emphasis upon the "art" portion of this mixture. Thus, though the common practice among art historians was to organize their texts in terms of a hierarchical format

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based upon the artist's background,[8] the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing* is the earliest known work to be organized instead around the concept of painting genres; furthermore, the rankings that Liu proposes within each of these (six) genres are governed not by the social position of the artist, but rather by the aesthetic merits of his work.[9]

IV

In taking an "aesthetic" rather than a "social" approach to the evaluation of painting, Liu Tao-ch'un was adopting a stance that was clearly at variance with that of his presumed audience. Yet, like the early Buddhist apologists who found it easier to gain acceptance in China when they presented the foreign in terms of the familiar [Wright 1954:385–387], it would appear that Liu similarly attempted to soften the impact of his implicit challenge to the status quo—particularly the widely-held view that all painters were socially suspect—by presenting his biographical materials in a manner intended to assure his readers that their values were shared by the greatest artists. One of the more striking illustrations of this somewhat paradoxical situation is provided by his treatment of Li Ch'eng.

As already seen, Liu portrays Li Ch'eng as a rather strait-laced, well-educated scholar and a bit of a snob; however, a number of other early biographical sources offer a rather different portrait of the artist, claiming that Li was (perhaps overly) fond of wine, that he never advanced as far as holding an official position, and that he and his family were finally invited to live as the guests of one of Li's childhood friends who had become a high-ranking official [SSYTL 7/10a,b; HCCL 3/119–120]. According to the *Sung History,* which takes an obviously jaundiced view of these proceedings, Li accepted this invitation "in order to help his family, but he spent all of his time carousing; he died—drunken—in a guest-house" [SS 431/28a].

Since virtually nothing is known of Liu Tao-ch'un's sources, it is possible, of course, that he was completely unaware of whatever literary tradition preserved this less-exalted image of Li Ch'eng; but given Liu's thoroughness and the pre-eminent position he accords Li, the chances of that are remote. More plausible is that he deliberately chose not to make mention of Li's dissolute nature or his failure as an official. Additionally, by emphasizing Li's education and prestigious family background, and by embroidering the anecdote of Sun Szu-hao (the point of which reinforces the picture of Li as one of the elite), Liu thus created a persona that was likely to find acceptance among his readers.

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V

In a certain sense, then, the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing* and the *Sung History* represent opposite ends of the spectrum: for Liu Tao-ch'un, Li's lack of official distinction was more than compensated for by the fact that he was a great painter; but for the compilers of the *Sung shih,* that Li may have been a great painter was in no way compensation for the fact that he had not amounted to anything in official life.

The *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u,* a catalogue of the Northern Sung Imperial art collection, offers an intriguing synthesis of these two views. Compiled during the Hsüan-ho reign era (1119–1126) on the orders of the Emperor Hui-tsung (r. 1100–1126)—himself an accomplished painter who, particularly through his re-organization of the Painting Academy, had a great impact on later artistic developments—the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* shows definite signs of having been influenced by the late eleventh-century theories of *shih-jen hua* that had by then gained currency, and that were largely responsible for the newly elevated prestige attached to painting [Bush 1971:74–77].

The *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u*'s entry for Li Ch'eng essentially gathers together the information contained in the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing* and the *Sheng-shui yen-t'an lu,* and then adds a number of embellishments to them. For example, we are told with regard to Li's background that his family was descended from the T'ang Imperial line, and it is reported that Li received a traditional Confucian education despite the hard times that his family was experiencing as a result of the chaotic conditions during the Five Dynasties period. The anecdote of the persistent Sun Szu-hao is also given (in a more elaborate form than in the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing*), and in his supposed letter of reply to Sun, Li compares himself to Tai K'uei (d. 395), a well-known Six Dynasties painter and musician who smashed his *ch'in* (zither) rather than perform on command. (The *Li-tai ming-hua chi* reports that Tai K'uei "was summoned to take official positions at intervals throughout his life, but he never accepted any of them" [Acker 1974:95].)

Although the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* makes no attempt to hide the ways in which Li deviated from the scholar-official norm, there is an attempt to provide a justification for his behaviour:

> Although Li Ch'eng had high ambitions, his fate did not correspond to his talents; thus, he subsequently abandoned himself to wine and poetry, and lodged his interest *(yü-hsing)*[10] in painting [HHHP 11/283–284].

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In other words, though the prerequisites for success—a noble family lineage, native intelligence, a Confucian education, and so on—were all in place, Li was "betrayed" by the uncontrollable workings of his destiny, or fate *(ming);* moreover, by associating Li with the noble scholar-recluse, Tai K'uei, and by invoking the concept of *yü-hsing,* the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* goes even further than did Liu Tao-ch'un in establishing Li Ch'eng's credentials as a principled scholar.

In short, while Li may not have equalled the achievements of the true *shih-jen,* it was not through any real fault of his own; and, with Li thus absolved, the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* could claim him as at least a spiritual ancestor of literati painting ideals.

VI

It can readily be seen from the discussion above that the relevant, early literary sources present several differing and, at times, conflicting, portraits of Li Ch'eng. Viewed on the surface, the *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing* paints a picture of Li as being well-educated and something of a snob and, more importantly, the greatest painter of the day; in the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* he is portrayed as a Confucian scholar who "lodged his interest" in painting when his great career expectations were not realized; in the *Sung History,* he is posed as a dissolute wastrel and would not have been included in the records at all were it not for the fact that his forbears and offspring had been distinguished public servants.

The eminent sinologist Etienne Balazs has written:

> En face de l'énorme masse de la littérature historique chinoise on doit d'abord se poser la question, décisive pour toute littérature, qui écrit pour qui? Qui est l'auteur et qui sont ses lecteurs? [Balazs 1961:82][11]

For the purposes of the present study, this question of "Who is writing for whom?" is certainly one that is relevant, for what has been suggested above is that the differences in these portrayals of Li Ch'eng have little to do with the biographical subject, but rather are reflections of dissimilar authorial attitudes toward the nature of art, and toward the artist's position within the social hierarchy. In short, three very different images of the artist in general have engendered three very different images of Li Ch'eng.

Accordingly, if future Chinese art-historical studies are going to take advantage of the numerous extant textual sources in an attempt to better understand the artist's "total environment" (as it has been argued

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here that they should), these sources themselves will first have to be subjected to far greater scrutiny than has thus far been the case.[12]

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NOTES

1. See Lovell 1973 for descriptions of some of the more important extant art-historical texts from this period.
2. Franke 1976, Part 4, for instance, comprises biographical studies of thirty-five Sung painters, written by eleven well-known scholars in the field.
3. This appears to be a slip in dating, since Li is reported to have died before this reign era began. This same discrepancy occurs in the THCWC [see Soper 1951:46, and note 435]. It may well be that Kuo Jo-hsü, writing at a later date, copied the error from here.
4. Phrases such as "his brushwork embodied his intentions" and "he captured a thousand miles in a square-foot of space" are common in the literature; see, for example, Acker 1954:177, and Acker 1974:282.
5. For instance, the T'ang painter Yen Li-pen, who held a high office, was once mortified by having been addressed as a "painting master" *(hua-shih).* According to the LTMHC, ". . . he warned his children saying 'In my youth I was fond of reading books and writing compositions, yet now I am known only for my paintings and have to do servant's work in person—there is no greater insult! You should take profound warning not to practice this art' " [Acker 1974:214].
6. See Kracke 1953:81, and note 21, for a discussion of this practice of awarding posthumous titles.
7. Similarly, in the T'ang, there was a distinction drawn between statesmen who were also writers, and those who were known only as writers [Frankel 1962:66].
8. The LTMHC and THCWC both follow this format.
9. While the HHHP also groups its entries by genre, relatives of the Imperial family, important officials and statesmen, are nonetheless indicated within each of these categories.
10. According to Bush [1971:80], the phrase *"yü-hsing"* is used to describe "temporary action done in one's free time, that is, the art of amateurs."
11. Translation: "Confronted with the enormous mass of Chinese historical literature one should first ask the question, critical for all literature, Who is writing for whom? Who is the author and who are his readers?"
12. This applies not only to biographical texts, but to critical and historical works, as well.

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HHHP *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u.* I-shu ts'ung-p'ien ed. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962.

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LTMHC *Li-tai ming-hua chi,* by Chang Yen-yüan. [see Acker 1954, 1974]
SCMHP *Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing,* by Liu Tao-ch'un. Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu ed. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1974.
SSYTL *Sheng-shui yen-t'an lu,* by Wang P'i-chih. Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung shu ed. 1805.
SS *Sung shih,* by T'o-t'o *et al.* Ch'ien-lung ed. Shanghai: Han-fen-lou, 1916.
THCWC *T'u-hua chien-wen chih,* by Kuo Jo-hsü. [see Soper 1951]

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GLOSSARY

Chao Kuang-fu	趙光輔	*ming*	命
chin-shih	進士		
Ching-yu	景祐	*shen-p'in*	神品
		Sheng-shui yen-t'an lu	繩水燕談錄
Fan K'uan	范寬	Shu	蜀
		shih-jen hua	士人畫
Hsiang-kuo szu	相國寺	Su Shih	蘇軾
Hsü Hsi	徐熙	Sun Szu-hao	孫四皓
Hsüan-ho	宣和	Sung	宋
Hsüan-ho hua-p'u	宣和畫譜	*Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing*	宋朝名畫評
hua-yüan	畫院	Sung Po	宋白
Huang Ch'üan	黃筌	*Sung shih*	宋史
Hui-chu ch'ien-lu	揮麈前錄		
Hui-ming	慧明	Tai K'uei	戴逵
Hui-tsung	徽宗	T'ang	唐
		Ts'ao Wu-hui	曹武惠
K'ai-pao	開寶		
kuang-lu szu ch'eng	光祿寺丞	Wang P'i-chih	王羆之
Li Ch'eng	李成	Yen Li-pen	閻立本
Li Chüeh	李覺	Ying-ch'iu	營丘
Li Yu	李宥	*yü-hsing*	寓興
Liu Li	劉鬷		
Liu Tao-ch'un	劉道醇		

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Stanton Peele

Personality, Pathology, and The Act of Creation: The Case of Alfred Hitchcock[1]

In his best-selling biography of Alfred Hitchcock, Spoto (1983) claimed that the celebrated film director of the macabre and the unsettling was a man in the grip of uncontrollable impulses. Hitchcock's pathological urges, according to Spoto, included misogyny, sadistic tendencies, and fantasies of rape; bathroom and various other fetishes about sex and the body; overwhelming guilt, anxiety, and a mother fixation; and phobias toward women, people in general, and the world at large. Without considering this psychological profile, Spoto maintained, it is not possible to make sense of the Hitchcock oeuvre or of the sources of Hitchcock's creativity. Spoto's rendition of the film director's gifts is a reductionist one, not in the sense of the reduction of psychological motivation to biology and chemistry (Peele, 1981), but in the view that an artistic vision can be reduced to a specific set of psychological—or psychopathological—elements.

Spoto's detailed, well-informed analysis opens up the question of whether any or all art can be so detached and analyzed or whether there remains something ineffable in the act of creation that cannot be broken down into elemental components. I aim to refute Spoto's explicit and implicit contentions that Hitchcock merely exposed his psychological problems for public view, and to propose instead that Hitchcock molded this material, consciously and unconsciously, into artistic form. My purposes in examining this question are to (1) introduce into psychological discourse the image of the aware artist as an agent in his or her own creativity, (2) critique a popular contemporary tendency to mistake psychological biography for literary and other

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artistic analysis, (3) establish the value for literary analysis of a nonreductionist social-psychological perspective, and (4) account for the continuing attraction Hitchcock exerts on movie goers by noting Hitchcock's acute sensitivity to psychological drama in character development as well as in the interplay between audience reaction and cinematic content.

Biographical and Critical Background

Alfred Hitchcock was born into a Cockney, Catholic family in London in the year 1899. His father died when Hitchcock was 14. Hitchcock's full-time scholastic education ended in 1913, although he read extensively, took evening classes, attended theatre and cinema performances constantly, and sketched and wrote. He was ambitious, and moved from a clerical engineering position at his first job to one in the advertising department as a layout artist. In 1920, he read that an American film company, Famous Players-Lasky, was opening a studio in London. He applied for a position as a title designer, was accepted, and worked as a filmmaker for the rest of his 80 years. Hitchcock set about with intense concentration to learn every aspect of the film business, and in little more than three years he became an assistant director and, by 1925, a director. He worked in Germany for his British employers between 1923 and 1925, where he absorbed the expressionistic, purely visual style of the then-most-advanced filmmaking industry in the world, which included the directors Ernst Lubitsch, F. W. Murnau, and Fritz Lang (all of whom, like Hitchcock, were to emigrate to the United States).

Hitchcock met Alma Reville in 1921, and began an engagement—his first romantic attachment of any kind—that led to marriage only in 1926. They had one child, a daughter, born in 1928, and remained married until Hitchcock's death in 1980. Reville was herself a respected film editor and screenwriter, although after marrying Hitchcock she devoted herself professionally and personally to her husband's work and career. Hitchcock's first two pictures were unevenly received, but *The Lodger* (1927)—the story of a roomer who was under suspicion for the murder of a number of young women—achieved critical and public acclaim. Prepared in the meticulous fashion he was to use throughout his career (Hitchcock created storyboards with mock-ups of every shot in a film before shooting), *The Lodger* dealt with themes of murder, suspicion, public order and private trust, and sexual attraction and repulsion that were to characterize all his work in some form or another. Hitchcock had directed a total of nine silent films and

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was one of Britain's leading directors when he made his first partially sound film, *Blackmail,* in 1929.

Among the 13 subsequent sound films Hitchcock directed in Britain were such classics (all of which are shown regularly in the United States today) as *Murder!* (1930), *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934, the only one of his films Hitchcock remade in America), *The 39 Steps* (1935), *Sabotage* (1936, based on the Conrad novel *The Secret Agent*), and *The Lady Vanishes* (1938). By then widely held to be Britain's top film director, Hitchcock came to America in 1939, believing he could realize his cinematic vision more fully here. His first American film, *Rebecca* (1940) won an Academy Award as best film (although Hitchcock did not receive best director award on this or any of the other four occasions when he was nominated for it). In America, he averaged more than a film a year ending with his direction of *Psycho* in 1960, the year Spoto reckons Hitchcock's personal and professional life entered a deep decline. Just a few of his classic pictures of this period were *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943), *Notorious* (1946), *Strangers on a Train* (1951), *Rear Window* (1954), *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956), *Vertigo* (1958), and *North by Northwest* (1959).

From the late forties on, Hitchcock realized his wish to produce as well as direct his films, attaining a degree of control unmatched by any other commercial filmmaker in America over the same period. All of the films mentioned above (as well as most of the other films from his late English and American period) concerned murder and/or espionage and their effect on personal and social relationships. Because of the topics of these films—and, oddly, as a result of his continuous public appeal—Hitchcock was slow to attract serious critical attention (although he was always recognized as a supreme film technician). The first study of his themes and techniques was by two young French enthusiasts—Eric Rohmer and Claude Chabrol (1957)—who were later to achieve substantial reputations of their own as film directors. The first English-language book on Hitchcock was by another future filmmaker, Peter Bogdanovich (1963). Andrew Sarris (1968), writing in celebration of American film in the pages of the journal *Film Culture,* gave the first appropriate estimation of the role Hitchcock played in American cinema, while the distinguished critic Robin Wood (1965) wrote the first analytic English-language treatment of Hitchcock's work (cf. Wood, 1969). Since the seventies, the serious and carefully crafted thematic development in Hitchcock's films has been widely acknowledged (Durgnat, 1974; LaValley, 1972; Rothman, 1982; Spoto, 1976).

Like many celebrated artists, Hitchcock frequently adopted a pose

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of obtuseness and obfuscation about his work, rarely giving anything up to interviewers aside from a ready stock of technical anecdotes about the challenge of shooting various scenes. Yet he clearly relished the appreciation of other filmmakers and considered self-promotion to be one of the keys to his professional success. These motives combined in his eager but oddly ambivalent participation in what was to become the most famous book about himself and his work prior to Spoto's, the series of interviews with the French director François Truffaut that appeared under the title *Hitchcock* in 1967. Spoto (1983) accurately noted that this book, in common with other French writing about Hitchcock, focussed on technical cinematic issues and global philosophical themes (such as a Catholic sense of guilt), while slighting more central psychological issues in Hitchcock's work. These deficiencies in Truffaut's approach were originally noticed in Braudy's (1968) review, which explained that Truffaut was "so doggedly technical, so intent on style as opposed to meaning" as to miss "how Hitchcock in his best films manipulates the deepest reactions of his audience" (p. 21). Furthermore, Braudy maintained, Truffaut missed hint after hint offered by Hitchcock of his deeper purposes: "While Hitchcock vainly implies the emotional and psychological relevance of his details, Truffaut concentrates on an intellectualized appreciation of the fine finish and professional gloss" (p. 22). Truffaut's revised edition of *Hitchcock* (Truffaut and Scott, 1984)—which also traced Hitchcock's declining years—appeared after Truffaut's death (cf. Truffaut, 1984).

Spoto (1976) himself contributed an important and popular book on the body of Hitchcock's work. However, in reconsidering Hitchcock's later films (Hitchcock made six films in the last 20 years of his life, the final one—*Family Plot*—in 1976) and revelations of increasingly peculiar and offensive behavior, Spoto came to see the great director as a seriously maladjusted individual whose personal defects poisoned his work. Not only did Spoto find Hitchcock's late films to lack the greatness of his earlier work as a result of their having fallen hostage to Hitchcock's unmanageable preoccupations, but the critic downgraded Hitchcock's own role in his earlier successes. Instead of regarding Hitchcock as the *auteur* (i.e., creator, cf. Sarris, 1968) of these works, Spoto portrayed him as a victim of personal urges that often had to be held in check and channeled by other, more rational collaborators. Spoto observed, typically, that the screenwriters Hitchcock employed were responsible for giving his films' characters realistic personalities and motivations (Spoto further noted that Hitchcock rarely acknowledged these contributions, as in his interviews with Truffaut).

Yet how is an immensely accomplished director who made 53 fea-

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ture-length films, who worked with a host of actors, technicians, composers, publicists and studio administrators, and who moreover created some of America's most popular and cherished films to be judged mentally ill? Spoto cited peculiarities Hitchcock manifested from early on, such as the compulsive sexual innuendo he engaged in personally and on screen. The critic returned to such early films as *Strangers on a Train,* in which a woman is strangled after flirting with her murderer, to locate signs of Hitchcock's incipient psychopathology. Moreover, Hitchcock committed acts of cruelty throughout his life, as when he left his daughter screaming at the top of a ferris wheel on the set of *Strangers on a Train,* or when he forced liquor on an alcoholic Montgomery Clift until the actor passed out. Spoto furthermore catalogued the instances in Hitchcock's films in which crucial action takes place in bathrooms, in which women are attacked, or in which male protagonists make over women in Pygmalion fashion.

Hitchcock sought a certain type of female star, blond and icy, because he claimed audiences had a greater sexual interest in them. But whereas he idealized such stars as Ingrid Bergman and Grace Kelly, later in his career he sought to dominate such actresses as Vera Miles and Tippi Hedren, interfering in their home lives and finally, in a unique episode for Hitchcock, propositioning Hedren and threatening her career when she rejected him. Hitchcock had earlier taken a week to shoot a scene in *The Birds* (1963) in which birds were hurled at Hedren, until at last one pecked her near the eye and she collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion. After Hedren rejected Hitchcock on the set of *Marnie* (1964), Spoto claimed, Hitchcock lost interest in the film, with obvious detriment to the final product. Spoto believed this disinterest characterized the large part of the remainder of Hitchcock's career.

Spoto used this malaise to explain the decline in Hitchcock's productivity after he was 60, although he was for the most part in good health and sound intellectually. The only film aside from *The Birds* and *Psycho* which was financially successful in these years was *Frenzy* (1972), a tale of a psychopathic murderer who could overcome his impotence only by strangling women (a madness Spoto found highly suggestive of Hitchcock's state of mind). Hitchcock filmed his most graphic depiction of the act of murder in this film and injected *Frenzy* —along with *Pyscho* and *The Birds*—with dark visions of social upheaval and apocalypse little relieved by attractive or noble human behavior. While Hitchcock was still capable of creating moments of haunting cinema, Spoto found that these appear only irregularly in the director's late films. Spoto noted that Hitchcock's last, incomplete

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film was to have its protagonist rape and murder a woman, a scene his collaborators regarded as impossible for a commercial movie.

When Hitchcock was in his seventies, Alma Reville became ill and friction appeared in what those who knew the couple considered an idyllic relationship. Hitchcock's obesity reached its peak and his periodically heavy drinking worsened, leading on one occasion to his hospitalization for alcoholism. The director found himself increasingly alone, in part because he alienated his current co-workers, and in part because he had never established intimate relationships outside his marriage. His last efforts at work—which continued up to the month he died—were fragmented and often involved recalling episodes from his life to his captive screenwriters. In his final business arrangements, he set adrift two women assistants who had served him faithfully for decades without considering pensions for them or the possibilities of their future employment. He frequently cried out to former associates about his loneliness and his fear of death, even as he was being feted in the waning moments of his life as one of Hollywood's greatest directors.

Genius and Psychopathology

Whereas Spoto (1976) previously was inclined to see Hitchcockian themes as an expression of conscious concerns the director was trying to work out in his films, Spoto (1983) later regarded the same motifs to be barely contained outpourings of a deep neurosis. Are artists more neurotic than others? Spoto's graphic recounting of the morbid idiosyncracies of Hitchcock's life engages a classic theme in the analysis of artistic creation: the relationship between personality (and neurosis) and creativity. This issue has concerned literary critics like Trilling (1950) and psychoanalysts like Kubie (1958), who both found the relationship inexact or nonexistent. Neurosis is certainly not a sufficient condition for artistic creation, and Trilling claimed it was not a necessary one. Certainly neurosis is not unilinearly correlated with creativity; while artists may have their share of neuroses, Kubie described how severe neurosis becomes incapacitating (as it did with Hitchcock late in his career).

Although Spoto documented Hitchcock's self-centeredness and lack of concern for others, he did not support his case that the director was out of touch with his own motivations and those of his audience. There are two lines of evidence which argue against Spoto's contentions here: the care and accuracy with which Hitchcock developed his characters, utilizing all the elements of film technique, and the popularity and critical attention Hitchcock's work has sustained over the

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years. Spoto's view of an almost serendipitous process by which Hitchcock embodied his material to elicit a response in the spectator simply cannot explain the continued relevance of these films to a half-century's moviegoers. Moreover, as a group of dedicated critics has by now made clear, Hitchcock did not simply select evocative scenes to gain a rise from the audience. Rather, his best films are integrated wholes with a unity of purpose that subsumes the screenplay, scenario, and the variety of dazzling cinematic tricks he employed. Spoto himself frequently attested that, while Hitchcock relied on screenwriters for dialogue and plot, he worked hand in hand with his writers throughout the writing process, often bringing in a series of collaborators in order to achieve the overall effect he sought from the script.

Among Hitchcock's many admirers, Wood (1969) and Rothman (1982) have made the most persuasive case for Hitchcock's overall mastery of the medium through their detailed exegeses of his seminal films. I will describe how several of Hitchcock's major works—mainly from Hitchcock's greatest creative period, 1954 to 1960—tackle the very psychological issues which Spoto was at pains to adumbrate in Hitchcock's personal life. The seriousness of purpose in these films is often overlooked, an oversight assisted by the director's own, often fatuous pronouncements about his work. This dilemma is accentuated in the Truffaut book where, as Braudy (1968) made clear, "Instead of drawing Hitchcock out, Truffaut forces him back into his old masks" (p. 21). Still, this book, containing the most extensive comments by Hitchcock on his craft, offers significant leads to his cinematic intentions and designs. *North by Northwest* (the title, significantly, is taken from Guildenstern's description of Hamlet as being "mad north by northwest," meaning Hamlet had a method to his madness) is the epitome of the nonsensical Hitchcockian plot. The story appears to be unified only by the gradual movement of the scenario in a north by northwesterly direction from New York, where the film begins. Hitchcock himself often described with relish how the film's star, Cary Grant, announced midway through the film that the plot made no sense. According to Hitchcock, however:

> In this picture nothing was left to chance, and that's why, when it was over, I took a very firm stand. . . . They [M-G-M] put a lot of pressure to have me eliminate a whole sequence at the end of the picture. I refused. (Truffaut, 1967, p. 191)

Hitchcock described for Truffaut, on the other hand, a scene he considered but did not include in the film, in which Grant was to walk

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through an auto assembly plant in Detroit while a car was being built. At the end of the assembly line, when the door of the car was opened, a body was to fall out. Truffaut responded enthusiastically: "That's a perfect example of nothingness! Why did you drop the idea?" Hitchcock, who had just blithely remarked, "I practice absurdity quite religiously," in this case replied: "We couldn't integrate the idea into the story. Even a gratuitous scene must have some justification for being there, you know" (p. 195). Hitchcock showed throughout the Truffaut book a firm grasp of his oeuvre—sifting out the failures from the triumphs, acknowledging and explaining the reasons for each, and in general—while eschewing direct psychological insight into himself or his characters—demonstrating an understanding of his work that (as in the example above) exceeds by many degrees that of his interlocuter.

North by Northwest is one of the films in which—as Spoto (1983) underlined—Hitchcock takes a debonair leading man and gives him Hitchcock's own personal hang-ups. Cary Grant plays the character of a vacuous Madison Avenue advertising executive, divorced and overly attached to his mother, who is suddenly swept up into a bizarre plot of international intrigue. In the course of this plot development, Grant is gradually stripped of the superficial accessories of his existence until, in one of the monumental scenes in the American cinema, he is attacked by a crop-dusting plane while he stands alone in a desolate field. Spoto emphasized how Hitchcock expresses his own anxieties vicariously through Grant. While it is true that Hitchcock's relationship with women was dominated by his sense of his physical unattractiveness, this is not to say that many men as attractive as Grant do not suffer the same kinds of insecurities Grant's character does in *North by Northwest.* The female lead, Eva Marie Saint, plays a woman intent on seducing Grant, to which Grant reacts with disbelief and insecurity long after the Saint character has clearly indicated she loves Grant. There is nothing in his reaction, however, out of character with the part Grant is playing. It is Grant's character's gradual acceptance—following the crop-duster scene—of adult sexuality, intimacy, and responsibility which marks the resolution of the thematic and character issues in the film.

Among Hitchcock's major films, Spoto took particular pains to explain the failure of *Marnie* (although he mentions in passing that the film has attracted considerable, though belated, critical and viewer interest; see, especially, discussion in Wood, 1969). The title character, played by Tippi Hedren, is a kleptomaniac. She is discovered stealing by her employer, played by Sean Connery, who subsequently marries

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her. Marnie recoils from her husband's attempts to solve her psychological problems as well as from his sexual advances. What concerns Spoto is the Connery character's own peculiar attraction to Marnie and his need to mold Marnie to his own purposes. Spoto correctly identified this theme as one that appears in several earlier Hitchcock films, such as *Rebecca, Rear Window,* and *Vertigo.*

Vertigo is the most extreme—and darkest—expression of the desire to control a lover. Jimmy Stewart plays a detective hired to trail a woman (Kim Novak) whose personality has supposedly been absorbed into that of a historical character to whom she had become attached. Actually, the man who hires Stewart has concocted an elaborate plot for murdering his wife, whom he has induced the Novak character—a common shopgirl—to impersonate. At the end of this phase of the film, Novak rushes to the top of a tower where Stewart cannot follow because of his vertigo, and from which the murderer hurls his wife. Stewart, never understanding there was a plot, is hospitalized for depression. When he is released, he chances upon the Novak character, who is now reimmersed in her own mundane identity. Stewart sets about to remake her into the image she had affected when she played the part of the killer's wife. Unable to control his urges to mold Novak into a fiction, Stewart finally forces her back to the scene of the murder where Novak herself accidentally falls to her death.

Hitchcock was hardly unaware of the theme that men strive to embody their fantasies in their dealings with women. Describing the plot of *Marnie,* he spoke of his fascination with

> the fetish idea. A man wants to go to bed with a thief because she is a thief. . . . It's not as effective as *Vertigo,* where Jimmy Stewart's feeling for Kim Novak was clearly a fetishist love. To put it bluntly, we'd have to have seen Sean Connery catching the girl robbing the safe and show that he felt like jumping at her and raping her on the spot. (Truffaut, 1967, p. 227)

Spoto (1983) highlighted the scene in *Marnie* where the Connery character does force his wife to have sex, after which she attempts suicide. For Spoto, this man's desire to make a woman over and the idea that she is frigid are expressions of Hitchcock's own imaginings and frustrations over Hedren the person, and her rejection of Hitchcock's advances.

The rape scene in *Marnie* is not pleasant, and Marnie's attempted suicide following it does not create feelings of sympathy for her husband. Moreover, *Marnie* emphasizes the woman character's point of

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view and feelings as had *Rebecca,* Hitchcock's inaugural American film. Hitchcock had read the novel *Rebecca* in its galley proof form while he was still in England, and he induced David Selznick to purchase the rights to the novel. That this property was so prominent in Hitchcock's mind indicates that its theme especially interested him. In *Rebecca,* a cold, withholding man (played by Laurence Olivier) marries a woman from a lower social class who tries everything to please him, with little success. Hitchcock was well aware of his male characters' problems in this film and in *Vertigo,* whose very title derived from a psychological disorder suffered by its male protagonist. *Vertigo* is perhaps the most powerful cinematic rendition of how a man's possessiveness literally kills the object of his love.

Rear Window too does not readily exonerate its protagonist's overcontrolling, voyeuristic impulses (see Rohmer and Chabrol, 1957). In this film Jimmy Stewart plays a photographer confined to his apartment in a wheelchair after having broken his leg in a fall. His girlfriend, played by Grace Kelly, is eager for marriage, although Stewart holds her at arm's length because of his fear that their professions (she is a fashion magazine editor) and lifestyles are incompatible. Idly observing his neighbors through his apartment window, Stewart eventually detects a murder, which he sends Kelly to investigate. In doing so, he endangers first her life and then his own, as the murderer confronts the invalid photographer alone in his apartment. The film is an exploration of the motives and consequences of a career of watching others, commanding friends and lovers to become involved in the enterprise, and not being able fully to give of oneself except on one's own terms. In short, this is an explicit cinematic treatment of the existential issues Spoto attempted to deduce biographically.

The issue of male-female combat was one never far from Hitchcock's mind. Sometimes, as in *North by Northwest,* the outcome is a positive one of mutual acceptance by the male and female characters, despite the male protagonist's emotional problems. In both versions of *The Man Who Knew Too Much,* a woman who has given up her career (in the first version as a sharpshooter, in the second as a singer) experiences conflict in her marriage. In the climactic scenes in each film, the woman relies on her skill—and courage—to rescue her child. Considering particularly the date of the earlier version, Hitchcock might be seen to have been unusually prescient about issues of female independence. Hitchcock himself married an exceptionally talented person whose professional judgment he always relied on above any other.

At the same time, Alma Reville gave up her independent career

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when she married Hitchcock and the marriage had elements of an égoisme à deux (Peele and Brodsky, 1975). One actress related how, after being caught in a traffic jam, she deposited an anxious Reville at Hitchcock's hotel an hour late for dinner, a lapse which angered him and for which he would not forgive the actress. Again, the issues Hitchcock did not deal with in his personal life proved exceptionally fruitful for his art. *Notorious* has Cary Grant portraying a government agent who enlists Ingrid Bergman to spy against her father's Nazi friends (her father is now dead). An exhausted, dissolute playgirl, the Bergman character is induced by the CIA-like agency for which Grant works to marry one of the Nazis. She does so because of—and despite—her love for the American agent. Although he feels the same way and they commence an affair, the Grant character is unable to express these feelings, until—almost too late—he rescues Bergman from a plot by her mother-in-law to poison her.

Notorious contains a kissing sequence between Bergman and Grant that is oft-noted by cinema students (it is described extensively in Spoto, 1983; Truffaut, 1967; et al.). The scene contains a long, claustrophobic close-up shot of Bergman clinging to Grant across the entire set of their hotel room as Grant first answers the ringing phone, and then walks to the door to leave. Grant's attitude is one of ambivalence; he accepts—even welcomes—the interruption of their intimacy caused by the call and the obligation that leads to his departure. Bergman clearly expresses more attachment, almost a desperation, as she tries to ignore the demands of their jobs and their situation in order to hold onto her lover. Hitchcock recounts in connection with this scene how he once saw a girl continue to grip the arm of her boyfriend while he urinated against a wall. The conclusion that Truffaut (1967) derived from all this—"Ideally, two lovers should never separate" (p. 199)—may reflect Hitchcock's approach to marriage, but it is an urge that he does not treat uncritically on the screen.

The analysis in this section is not meant to exonerate Hitchcock for his behavior—which Spoto convincingly portrayed as often going beyond the bounds both of decency to others and of self-respect. It *is* meant to distinguish between the personality of the artist and the artist's creative power. Hitchcock consistently displayed the capacity to transform artistically impulses that caused him difficulty personally. In addition, while Hitchcock did depict rape and murder on the screen, he never did so in the easy way of most contemporary films that might be thought to encourage the behavior being shown. Showing a viewer the difficulty, consequences, and reactions of the victim of

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aggression significantly reduces the likelihood that aggressive behavior will be imitated (cf. Bandura, 1973). Hitchcock understood this psychological truth implicitly. He shot the rape scene in *Marnie* to focus on Marnie's distress and horror while she is being raped, just as he noted her desolation and attempted suicide after the act. Hitchcock treated the rape-murder in *Frenzy* from a similar—though even more horrifying—perspective.

In *Torn Curtain* (1966), Hitchcock shot a prolonged scene in which the morally ambiguous figure of an American agent (played by Paul Newman) slowly kills an East German named Gromek who is assigned to guard him. Hitchcock first established the likeable, if boorish, character of the East German. The murder scene is an interminable and horrible sequence where Newman wrestles with his victim while aided by a woman ally—who helps first by pouring scalding soup on Gromek, then by giving Newman a carving knife which breaks off against the victim's neck, and lastly by hitting at the East German's legs with a shovel while Newman drags him to an open oven—where Gromek is finally suffocated while the camera focusses on his fingers waving spasmodically at the air! The desperation of all three characters is so amply delineated that the viewer is left fairly drained (for an analysis of the viewer's *implication* in the killing, see Wood, 1969, pp. 186–187). Asked about this scene by Truffaut, Hitchcock remarked simply: "In every picture somebody gets killed and it goes very quickly. . . . I thought it was time to show that it is very difficult, very painful, and it takes a very long time to kill a man" (p. 234).

Hitchcock's treatment of Tippi Hedren offscreen during the shooting of *The Birds* and *Marnie* was execrable and possibly pathologic. However, it is unwise to equate the offscreen and onscreen workings of Hitchcock's mind. Hitchcock's description of filming a scene with Hedren in *The Birds* (a different scene from the one which turned into an ordeal for her) makes clear the danger of underestimating the cinematic purpose of any footage Hitchcock shot in this period:

> Space should not be wasted, because it can be used for dramatic effect. . . . When the birds attack the barricaded house and Melanie [Hedren] is cringing back on the sofa, I kept the camera back to show the nothingness from which she is shrinking. . . . If I'd started, at the outset, right next to the girl, we'd have the feeling that she was recoiling in front of some danger that she could see but the public could not. And I wanted to establish just the contrary, to show that there was nothing off screen. Therefore, all of that space had a specific meaning. . . . The placing of images on the screen, in terms of what you're expressing, should never

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be dealt with in a factual manner. Never! You can get anything you want through the proper use of cinematic techniques, which enable you to work out any image you need. There's no justification for a short cut and no reason to settle for a compromise between the image you wanted and the image you get. (Truffaut, 1967, pp. 200–201)

Hitchcock declared (as his worst critic might) in response to a moralizing attack on *Rear Window,* "Nothing could have prevented my making that picture, because my love for cinema is stronger than any morality" (Truffaut, 1967, p. 15). This badly understates Hitchcock's moral vision, one that typifies great art, through which the artist endeavors to lay out the moral conflicts he perceives and to engage the spectator in their resolution. It is not necessary to argue that artists are better people than others; what is required for the creation of the kind of art which Hitchcock presents is an awareness of moral tension and the ability to portray this tension meaningfully.

It is a tribute to the complexity of Hitchcock the artist and the human being that almost simultaneous with the publication of Spoto's biography, Rothman (1982) published the most ardent defense yet for the notion of Hitchcock as the conscious creator—a direct antithesis to Spoto's views. Rothman traced Hitchcock's explicit concern with the meaning of his art and the process of its creation from *The Lodger* to *Psycho,* finding the rendition of these overriding themes in *Psycho* to be more powerful than any of his preceding work. Critics of all ilks have conceded this film's power; Durgnat (1974, pp. 332–333)—frequently found to be arguing with himself about how seriously to take the claim that Hitchcock knows fully what he is doing—in this case acknowledged "the perfection of the film's mechanism . . . [as] illustrated by the unusual degree of unanimity and mutual complementarity displayed by various exegeses" (including, in addition to Rothman, Wood, 1969; Braudy, 1968; et al.). Braudy (1968) underlined Hitchcock's discussion with Truffaut about the film, quoting first Hitchcock:

> "It wasn't a message that stirred the audience, nor was it a great performance or their enjoyment of the novel. They were aroused by pure film." Truffaut answers, satisfied, "Yes, that's true." But Hitchcock explains further what he means: ". . . the construction of the story and the way in which it was told caused audiences all over the world to react and become emotional." Truffaut responds: "Yes, emotional and even physical." Hitchcock snaps: "Emotional."

Braudy's purpose was to demonstrate that "all of Hitchcock's 'techniques' are aimed at destroying the separation between the film and its

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audience" (p. 22); in the degree to which Hitchcock accomplished this he may be compared with no other film director so much as with Shakespeare.

As one approximation of Hitchcock's impact on viewers—in addition to the ongoing critical debate he provokes—we may take his continuing popularity. Hitchcock's unflagging ability to interest audiences threatens to derail Spoto's existential explanation of Hitchcock's problems as a filmmaker. Is a psychological explanation really needed for why a director released only six films after his sixtieth birthday, three of which were commercial successes (beginning with arguably his greatest work, *Psycho,* and ending with a respectable effort, *Family Plot,* that may yet gain a cachet), a percentage of "hits" no different from that of any other period—save one—in Hitchcock's career? Also contradicting the notion of Hitchcock's progressive dementia, his best output was from his mid-fifties until he was sixty, when he made *Rear Window, The Man Who Knew Too Much, Vertigo, North by Northwest,* and *Psycho* (along with three lesser films).[2] No other director in Sarris's (1968) pantheon of *The American Cinema* who was as long-lived as Hitchcock—including Chaplin, Ford, Griffith, Hawks, Lang, Renoir, von Sternberg, or Welles—matched Hitchcock's record of success and all had more precipitous declines in their critical reputations, while being unable to generate film projects, at an age when Hitchcock was still a major figure in motion pictures.

Truffaut's (1984; cf. Truffaut and Scott, 1984) balanced and empathic account of Hitchcock's final films may serve as the ultimate epitaph for that troubled genius. Truffaut (1984) also described Hitchcock's decline as being due to the failure of *Marnie*—more particularly "the failure of his professional and personal relationship with Tippi Hedren" (p. 42). (Truffaut thought this was part of a larger difficulty Hitchcock had working after the loss of his favorite male—Grant and Stewart—and female—Bergman and Kelly—stars.) Truffaut found Hitchcock suffered a loss of confidence in the aftermath of *Marnie* that led him unwisely to part company with his most important collaborators. Moreover, the failure of this most personal of Hitchcock's films dissuaded him from directly exposing his emotional concerns on screen again, and he strove to return to familiar formulae for the remainder of his films. At the same time, Truffaut was aware that *Frenzy* and other late successes buoyed Hitchcock both personally and professionally.

Truffaut's posthumous analysis (it postdated the death of author as well as subject) again (like his earlier edition) expressed idiosyncratic and superfluous assumptions. Truffaut (1984) believed that—rather

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than identifying with his male leads—Hitchcock hid himself behind the bit players and character actors in his films. He unfortunately opined, "it could not have been easy for him [Hitchcock] to impose his neuroses on the whole world" (p. 47). But we must be grateful for the moderate tone displayed in this work by another distinguished director (albeit one both more personal and less powerful than Hitchcock) and cinema lover, one who can recognize that great artistic creation deserves its own level of analysis:

> Hitchcock belonged to a different family: the family of Chaplin, Stroheim, Lubitsch. Like them, he did not merely practice an art, but undertook to delve into its potential and to work out its rules. . . . (p. 47)

Conclusion

Overall, when we note that Hitchcock's films have been well-received *in six different decades,* we may identify as the critic's task to seek the source of Hitchcock's remarkable artistic productivity and longevity rather than of his decline. Consider that Hitchcock's *Notorious* (1946) was shown to good response on prime-time national TV 25 years after its original release; that when five films Hitchcock owned himself were rereleased theatrically (in 1984) twenty-five and more years after they were made, they were shown in first-run theatres and treated as a major cinematic occasion in New York and around the country; that films Hitchcock made in the thirties such as *The 39 Steps* and *The Lady Vanishes*—and even films from the twenties like *The Lodger* and *Blackmail*—are shown regularly to audiences as something other than period pieces. What causes people to respond to Hitchcock's vision after fifty years? To answer this question, what we really need to comprehend is how Hitchcock transcended—and transformed—compulsive personal preoccupations into film masterpieces. Discipline, hard work, and sensitivity to his audiences are useful first approximations for such an understanding, while the rest may fall under the category of genius.

Under any circumstances, Hitchcock's films *cannot* with profit be regarded as elaborate excuses for their director's foibles and deficiencies, as uninhibited vicarious indulgences of Hitchcock's hidden yearnings, or as inchoate expressions of his unexamined and unconscious desires. Like all substantial art, Hitchcock's work is too complex morally to allow such easy, reductionistic synopses. Biographical analysis can offer solid clues to the genesis of those things which concern the auteur, but it cannot specify how an artist will treat these concerns—which is, after all, the substance, the mystery, and the power of art. Despite many recent attempts to unify them, the biographical

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enterprise and the effort to analyze art from critical and moral perspectives remain irreducible enterprises, necessarily conducted separately and with different tools. Indeed, the ability to separate one's personality from one's creation may be the hallmark of the successful artist, the failure to do so the sign of artistic mediocrity.

Morristown, N.J.

NOTES

1. I thank Archie Brodsky not only for reading and commenting on this manuscript, but for viewing and discussing Hitchcock's films with me over the years and working with me to develop the critical perspective this article embodies.
2. Hitchcock directed 20 television productions from 1955 to 1962, most for the highly successful series, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents,* which he hosted.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF REFERENCED FILMS, ALFRED HITCHCOCK, DIRECTOR

The lodger: A story of the London fog. (1927). M. Balcon (Producer), P. Stannard (Screenwriter). London: Gainesborough.

Blackmail. (1929). J. Maxwell (Producer), A. Hitchcock (Screenwriter). Elstree: British International.

Murder! (1930). J. Maxwell (Producer), A. Hitchcock, M. Maycroft, and A. Reville (Screenwriters). Elstree: British International.

The man who knew too much. (1934). M. Balcon (Producer), E. Greenwood and A. R. Rawlinson (Screenwriters). London: Gaumont-British.

The 39 steps. (1935). M. Balcon (Producer), C. Bennett (Screenwriter). London: Gaumont-British.

Sabotage. (1936). M. Balcon (Producer), C. Bennett (Screenwriter). London: Gaumont-British.

The lady vanishes. (1938). E. Black (Producer), S. Gilliat and F. Launder (Screenwriters). London: Gaumont-British.

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Shadow of a doubt. (1943). J. H. Skirbal (Producer), T. Wilder, S. Benson, and A. Reville (Screenwriters). Hollywood: Universal.

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Strangers on a train. (1951). A. Hitchcock (Producer), R. Chandler and C. Ormonde (Screenwriters). Hollywood: Warner Brothers/First National.

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PHYLLIS FRUS MCCORD

"A specter viewed by a specter": Autobiography in Biography

"Every great man nowadays has his disciples," said Oscar Wilde, "and it is always Judas who writes the biography."[1] This evidently is how Saul Bellow felt in 1978 when he read an excerpt in *The Georgia Review* from what was to be published as *Saul Bellow: Drumlin Woodchuck*. His "Judas" is Mark Harris, who kept a journal of their "occasional" friendship over seventeen years. Characteristically, Harris includes Bellow's reaction to the excerpt in his book, which was published two years later. Bellow didn't like the piece, which details his visit to speak at Purdue University in 1970, where Harris was a member of the English faculty, and he complains to Harris about it. "I thought I looked like a turd in it. . . . Bad-tempered. Nasty, Snappish. I don't see myself that way." Harris, although upset, recovers enough to explain to Bellow that this is natural, because, he says, "it's not oneself. It's my version of oneself."[2]

Bellow's reluctance to accept a version of his "self" in narrative form is only a more intense variation of what is probably the prevailing attitude toward biography today. We are so sure that a person's life can be represented accurately in words that we refuse to see the biographical subject as a fictional character. (Of course it is much easier to approve a fictional self that flatters, but in that case one hardly sees it as fictional.) It is probably not going too far to say that biography is the genre least affected by contemporary critical theories. We can swallow the deconstruction of our favorite realistic novels, and we don't mind the departure of the author from the text, but when it comes to "real

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people," we find it difficult to accept a theory that would substitute textuality for clearly articulated presences whom we perceive as objectively real. After all, this theory would make "characters" of us all. Therefore, we still read biographies the way we always have, for information about the life and milieu of a subject who is in some way exceptional, and for the pleasure we take in seeing "life," which we experience as fragmented and disorderly, transformed into a pattern that makes sense, which is unified, coherent, and rounded by closure. Most reviews of biographies do not help us look at these proliferating examples in any other way, for they frequently adopt the same relationship toward the subject of the biography under review as the biographer has achieved: they summarize the life and discuss its implications for us, asking, What is the lesson in this model life, for ill or for good? In this way, biography has not changed much from the exemplary model that has its roots in the classical period.

In contrast, autobiography has changed dramatically from its parent form, the Christian confession, and theories of autobiographical form chase each other across the pages of leading scholarly journals and fill the bookshelves. It has always been easier to regard writing about the self as less factual and more fictional than biography—and hence more creative and therefore "literary." For example, Northrop Frye includes autobiography but not history or biography in his classification of literary works because he believes the autobiographer's dominant impulse is to create an "integrated pattern," whereas history gives priority to its factual materials; thus in autobiography, the "pleasure-principle" predominates over the "reality-principle," and this is his criterion for regarding a genre as literature.[3]

Contemporary critical theories also have had a significant impact on autobiographical criticism, doubtless because of their questioning of the very notions of "self" and "text." The existence of two major essays on the disappearance of the author—by Barthes and Foucault—and the crucial questioning of traditional concepts of self or identity by Lacan and Derrida have been more than enough to shake up our traditional notions about a genre that is defined as a narrative about the development of the *author's self.* Autobiography has frequently been more various and experimental anyway, as writers have continually explored the separation of the "self that writes" from the developing self that is its subject. Because the plot of an autobiography is the coming into being of the self that is narrating, autobiographies are frequently "meta-autobiographical," telling the story of how the text has come into existence.

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Biography, on the other hand, is more influenced by the positivist tendencies of its parent genre, history, with all that implies: fidelity to documentation, realistic representation of a world posited as objectively present to the viewer, historical third-person narrator, and the progression of events in causal relation to one another toward closure. Biographers who adopt these conventions and the tropes of realism unqualified by self-consciousness or other autoreferential means enact and reinforce the positivist view. Moreover, biography as we know it is so bound up with conventional notions of self that to question the traditional biographical conventions is to threaten the essential self it implies. How could a fragmented or discontinuous self, or what Barthes calls a plurality of codes whose origins are lost, be represented in a narrative?[4] As James Clifford (not the late biographer but his ethnologist son) has said, "Without some thread joining a life's occasions of experience, it would seem useless to continue to speak of a person."[5]

Autobiographers would seem to be up against a similar problem, but they have created alternative patterns that more accurately reflect this problematic concept of self, probably because they have not been tied so tightly to conventions of empiricist genres, such as history, and because their readers more readily accept the notion that self-creation is a fictional enterprise. And surely memory, the autobiographer's link to his past, is more creative than the hard documented facts on which the biographer builds his case.[6] However, this distinction is itself a construction, and it collapses in the face of recent theory. Documents and other materials such as interviews are, after all, narratives of one kind or another and thus are no more objective than the autobiographer's materials; and something akin to memory—whatever forms the thread tying the "occasions of experience" together—is required of the biographer in order to create a life.

We can also argue that the self of the biographer has the same status as the self of the autobiographer, equally open to question and with it the narration each produces. (That they are interchangeable is made most clear by Gertrude Stein's use of a fictional biographical persona to narrate what is either her autobiography or that of her companion, in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas.*)[7] Therefore, the best reasons for bringing the two genres together for critical and theoretical purposes are formal ones. After all, the conventional premise of a biographical narrative is that a life has a shape which we perceive as a unified whole, whereas that pattern of coherence is actually created by the structure through which we apprehend what seems to be objec-

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tively real. In this sense, the genres are equally contrived, even "unnatural."

Furthermore, in both types of narratives, an observer narrates the story of a self; in autobiographies, it is the present self which chronicles a historical or past self, or the self being created; in biography, the narrator performs this service for the subject. In some biographies—so many that this characteristic convention has seemed to define the form—the observer is absent from the text. These biographers are so self-effacing that their narrative takes on the characteristics of historical narration; with no intervening, subjective narrator apparent, events seem to narrate themselves. Because biography so impersonally (and realistically) narrated apparently matches the world we seem to know, it is difficult for the reader to remember that the world depicted is a construction of the narrative.[8] To release biography (and its theory and criticism) from the grip of the positivist view, we must insist not only on a mediating, problematic narrator but on the hypothetical nature of the whole enterprise of biography.

Because biographies, like all narratives, are constructions in language and language is constitutive, not representative, of reality, they are always fictions—in the sense of "made," not made up, "creations," not lies. As Harris concedes in his opening pages, any narrative "compresses reality, condenses time, and abbreviates encounters, except when it inflates, enlarges, or extends those elements," and this is inevitably a form of lying; however, "in the everyday sense," he says, he does not (and biographers in general *by convention* do not) lie.

Even historical characters are constructions of evidence provided to most of us by literary means; there is no way to "know" another person except through narratives about them, which are necessary to supplement the single limited perspective we have even if we have been acquainted with our subject. We perceive as "real" many characters of whom our only knowledge is that obtained through narratives (radio and television, books and newspapers, *People* magazine), and because realism is the dominant mode of these media (thus their forms are transparent), we forget that the images they present are always mediated.

Accepting the fictionality of discourse does not mean that there is no difference between a novel and an autobiography or a biography, but that these genres are differentiated by the conventions of reading and writing, rather than by their mode of discourse. We might define biography, then, as discourse that takes as its subject a historical character or living person and does not invent its materials but imposes

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narrative patterns on them according to certain conventions. Thus, a biographical narrative should be regarded as an autonomous verbal creation that refers to other texts rather than to an objective reality.

In Harris's narrative, Bellow instead views the character based on him in relation to external signifieds (his "self-knowledge" in particular, but perhaps to other narrative versions of aspects of his character as well); and he rejects this creation. Harris is astonished at this reaction, for he is a believer in the role-playing self and interprets the characters he has created as they exist in their place within the text. After all, the fictional Harris character is at least as unattractive as the petulant Bellow. "In this book, as always, I come off worst," Harris assures us on the first page of his biography. "It is a device not always appreciated by people who feel that I have hurt them, threatened them, and never acknowledged by critics of my writing, who use against me the facts they would never possess but for me." By the end of the narrative, Bellow is one of these critics, and he refuses further cooperation after reading the excerpt. In this final conversation, he also delivers himself of a "memorable" dismissal of the whole genre: "Biography is a specter viewed by a specter" (182).

Bellow apparently means this disparagingly, but in this pithy comment he has captured the essential structure of this biography with its two main characters—the specter and the spectator—which has drawn on conventions usually associated with autobiography (its dramatized narrator and its self-accounting form) to create a rich, concentrated narrative that more accurately reflects recent conceptions of the self. What Harris has done is to create overtly novelistic characters who refer to other characters in literature rather than to externally verifiable referents (there are many, but the principal ones so evoked are Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, and various characters from Bellow's novels); and to narrate the whole with the reflexivity of the autobiographer or even the self-conscious novelist. Although we may read this biography the way we would a novel, Harris has rejected the omniscient historical narrator so common to classic realist novels as well as to many biographies.

The biographer may be a specter, as Bellow says he is, but we ought to have signs of him. Harris's persona goes far beyond minimum requirements, however; although as a textual phenomenon he is shadow, not substance or essence, his literary associations make him fully as complex and ironic a literary character as is "Bellow." Harris not only compares himself to Boswell, he tries to emulate him, most ridiculously by pursuing Bellow's estranged third wife, Susan, much

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as Boswell sought the sexual favors of Rousseau's mistress, Thérèse Le Vasseur. (In case we miss the analogy, he has earlier found the slightest of pretexts—a conversation with another biographer, Richard Ellmann—to reprint a summary by the editors of Boswell's journals of this particular sexual escapade [27–28], which occurred when Boswell was readying himself to record the characteristics of great men by sitting at the feet of Voltaire and Rousseau.)

Harris is continually measuring his motivations and actions against those of the traditional or ideal biographer, but the dominant effect of the comparisons is irony or parody. He wants to trail Bellow "around for fifteen or twenty days a year" for a few years, but because of "the merest impossible obstacles of time, place, logistics, a connection missed, a wallet lost, persons detained, telephones unanswered, evasion, escape" (5), he spends by my count no more than twelve days in his company in nearly seventeen years—hardly up to Boswell's record. And yet the illusion of a colorful, well-rounded, complex character he achieves is analogous to Boswell's creation of Johnson. When Boswell's admirers counted up how few days he had actually spent with Johnson over twenty-one years (little more than a year's worth of days),[9] they found that he had compensated for the lack of contact with the fullness of his record. Harris has to make do with skimpier materials, but what he has mastered is Boswell's technique of creating a number of fully realized scenes which show his subject in action and capture his conversation.

We see Bellow with his sons; with various women in his life (whom Harris names as they are identified for him: "Bonne Amie," a woman "named or called Stat or Stats or Stap or Staps," and the "dear friend" who accompanies him to Purdue); discussing Chicago writers and other contemporaries, not always in the most flattering terms (he says of reading one writer whom Harris admires, "I'd rather take a prostate examination"); and, although Harris insists that Bellow doesn't "glitter off the top of his head," getting off some *bons mots* worthy of his characters: asked to speak to a Great Issues class, he says "Let's hope that the issues are very great and the group is very small." Besides these scenes, rendered as subtly and dramatically as his hero Boswell could have done, Harris has filled out the space between meetings with smoothly interpolated scenes from Bellow's novels, quotations from his essays and letters, their telephone conversations, and other views of him by "rival" or potential biographers, so that the effect is one of a continuous "present," even if our subject remains an evasive presence like the woodchuck. And when he is not on stage, we are

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entertained by the comic relief or the academic maneuverings of our narrator, who name-drops ferociously and worries incessantly about his own place in the literary hierarchy.

Besides the "life in scenes," what Harris seems to have modeled after Boswell is his persona: the naif-as-schlemiel who dogs the steps of Chicago's leading literary figure and role model in order to learn something—about writing, about the role of the renowned author in our publicity-dominated age, about how to live in an increasingly violent world.[10] (Harris learns this at his very first meeting with Bellow in 1961 in a remote house in the Hudson Valley, when he remarks to his host, "I'd be nervous. Do you own a gun?" " 'No,' he beautifully replied, 'why should somebody die because I'm nervous?' ") But Harris combines this adopted role of competing Jewish novelist and incompetent biographer (Harris can't even get Bellow's birthday right) with a reflexive narrative method, so that the plot of what reads like a novel becomes how Harris got the story he wanted to tell, and how he has worried about writing it—but finally he is writing it, and we are here watching him do it. Significantly, what would be an introduction to the traditional biography appears here as part of the text; Harris will not frame his narrative with information we are expected to forget once we enter the text proper.

Part of this reflexivity is his self-conscious parody of traditional biographical conventions; reviewers who were aghast at his confessions of missed information, fumbled opportunities to interview Bellow's intimates, feeble attempts at notating facts on 3x5 index cards, and inability to catch names missed the satire: Harris has invoked these conventions, including Boswell's terms of intimacy with *his* subject, to comment on their inadequacy to render a life in narrative. He even alerts us to the artificiality of his role as naif, when he tells Stern (and the reader, who is in effect eavesdropping): "I make myself innocent to protect others. If I'm a person who understands too much I might tell too much. That's how I think I've got to do the Bellow biography: oblique, glancing, not knowing too much." (The circularity of this biography is evident when we realize that, of course, this is "the Bellow biography" we are reading.) We also learn from this remark that Saul Bellow and Robert Frost (who wrote the poem about the woodchuck) are not the only elusive animals who "tell the truth but tell it slant."

And of course the reflexivity, combined with the fictionality it calls our attention to, enables us to interpret this biography with as much freedom as we are accustomed to in reading novels. One possible inter-

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pretation is that the biographical subject is a transformation by Harris of the characters in Bellow's novels. This would take another article to show, so subtly does the narrator weave back and forth between Bellow's writings and his life, but it is clear that both Harris and Bellow take on attributes of typical Bellovian characters, especially, for Bellow, those of Mr. Sammler and Moses Herzog (a lonely moral force against the dominant masses, a man besieged by the claims of women). Harris admits that at times he feels like one of the Bellow protagonist's enemies, such as Herzog's Valentine Gersbach; is he, like Gersbach, a "comfortable radical," who preaches antiwar activism without its costing him anything? (Harris's antiwar stance at Purdue is a source of disagreement between the two characters in the biography.)

Another reading that suggests itself is that we are to become so exasperated by the elusiveness of this "drumlin woodchuck" (take your choice of which one), who "shrewdly pretends/That he and the world are friends," only to avoid us "at the least alarm," that we turn to his works to find him and learn what he has to tell us. This exasperation, and the clue it seems to have given Harris in shaping his narrative so that we also experience it, comes to Harris late in the text, when he meets Bellow at a party at Purdue after a separation of over two years.

> Why should anyone care to *see* this gray man who could *read* him? . . . This Bellow was only an outer person, tomorrow's speaker, the department guest, nobody special. . . . He was witty, but many men and women were wittier of speech, quicker, faster, more rapid-tongued. Of course, their truth of speech was lost upon the air. Genius is wit organized. Bellow in the flesh spoke tentatively, one moment precisely, another moment off the top of his head, stream-of-consciousness, spurting words, careless, bouncing sounds. He yielded few gems along the way. He would revise, organize. (149–50)

In other words, why bother to read a biography when you can read Bellow's novels? Here we confront what seems to be the message of this biography's reflexive narrative: the difficulty if not impossibility of apprehending a person through a biographical text. Otherwise, how can we justify all the attention paid in this biography to the hopelessness of collecting the necessary information, to the difficulty in overcoming the reluctance of the publicity-shy *public* figure to add to the amount of misinformation in the world by seeking attention, to the impossibility of succeeding in the role of Boswellian biographer of such a figure? We have perceived these difficulties all along, because Harris has spared us none of what Henry James called the "story of

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the story." His moods fluctuate according to how well his plans are working out, and we soar or crash with him. Except for the visit to Purdue, which finds Harris in glory because he has acted as intermediary to lure Bellow, the night in Chicago in 1967 when Bellow and art critic Harold Rosenberg choose *his* party to attend seems to offer the richest fantasy to our Walter Mitty biographer:

> This was *it*—riding along with my biographee. Things at last were going right. Off to a party together, talking, rambling around from topic to topic, joking, gossiping, interrupting one another with opinions, expressing prejudices. And then, after the large party had reduced itself to a few persons, we would sit somewhere in a quiet place talking the dawn in. I imagined not only the night ahead, but long summers of green walking, long winters beside steam radiators. (86)

The evening doesn't turn out quite as imagined, however, as Bellow eludes him and Harris winds up with an old flame on the Indiana Tollway at three in the morning. So it goes for most of his biographical fantasies, and for ours, for he has been our stand-in, too. To the other important effects of autobiography in biography—the chance to hear the "story of the story" and to be reminded of the creative, *literary* nature of the genre and its characters—we might add a third: such a valid self-revelatory narrative persona allows us to participate vicariously, to view, if not the "real" Saul Bellow, at least his specter, at quite close range.

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NOTES

1. Oscar Wilde, "The Critic as Artist," *Intentions* (1891); rpt. in *The Artist as Critic,* ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 342.
2. Mark Harris, *Saul Bellow: Drumlin Woodchuck* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1980), p. 182. All further references will be given in parentheses in the text.
3. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957; rpt. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 73–74, 307.
4. Roland Barthes, *S/Z,* trans. Richard Miller (London: Cape, 1975), p. 10.
5. James Clifford, " 'Hanging Up Looking Glasses at Odd Corners': Ethnobiographical Prospects," in *Studies in Biography,* ed. Daniel Aaron, Harvard English Studies, 8 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978), p. 47.
6. James Olney, Book Reviews, *Genre,* 15 (1982), 478.
7. The question of whose autobiography it is may puzzle some readers, but there is no doubt that the biographical subject is Gertrude Stein; the ambiguity concerns the identity of the narrator, but since it would be a fictional one in either case, the perspective within the text is the same.

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8. On the appropriateness of omniscient narration, see Denis Donoghue, "The Man Who Suffers, the Mind That Creates," *The New York Times Book Review*, 11 March 1984, p. 33: "I concede the novelist's claim to complete knowledge of his subjects, because he has invented them; but I reject the biographer's claim. He hasn't, after all, invented his subject. Omniscient narration is acceptable in one, an impertinence in the other."
9. See W. Jackson Bate, *Samuel Johnson* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), p. 364.
10. When Gray said that the "true title" of Boswell's account of Corsica and its revolutionary hero Paoli was "A Dialogue Between a Green Goose and a Hero," it was because he believed Boswell to be nothing but a sponge soaking up good material (see Frederick A. Pottle, *James Boswell: The Earlier Years 1740–1769* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966], pp. 366–67). One hopes our critics no longer believe that this kind of naiveté is natural rather than deliberate, but Harris was chastised by some reviewers for playing the fool instead of giving us a "legitimate" biography of Bellow.

    Harris is only seven years younger than Bellow, but he exaggerates the mentor-pupil relationship between them to more closely approximate the effect of the age difference between Boswell and Johnson.

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Elizabeth Winston

Gertrude Stein's Mediating Stanzas

On a first reading, *Stanzas in Meditation* by Gertrude Stein has little to recommend it. The poem does not offer the concentrated shock of perception one gets from the still lives of *Tender Buttons,* or the joyous celebration of homoerotic love found in "Lifting Belly." The lucidity and humor that enliven Stein's *Lectures in America*—her comments on portrait making, her justifications for shunning the "revolting" question mark and "servile" comma—also seem to be missing from this poem, or at least obscured by bristling *which*'s and convoluted syntax. But *Stanzas in Meditation* is required reading for students of this often inscrutable writer, because it radically alters our view of Stein's relation to her audience in her most popular book, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas.* Furthermore, *Stanzas* allows us to reconcile the aggressively self-confident writer of the 1933 autobiography with the troubled, self-doubting persona of its 1937 sequel, *Everybody's Autobiography.*[1]

This poem of 164 stanzas and 149 pages was written in 1932 but not published in its entirety until 1956, as part of *The Yale Edition of the Unpublished Writings of Gertrude Stein.* "Alice Toklas" declares near the end of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* that she is typing the completed *Stanzas in Meditation,* a work which Stein "considers her real achievement of the commonplace" (225). Four years later, *Stanzas* is still in typescript. Stein remarks in the final chapter of *Everybody's Autobiography* that "Bertie" (Sir Robert) Abdy "has tried four different printers already" (300). The Abdy letters in the Beinecke Manuscript Library at Yale (including thirty-one letters to Stein from Lady Diana Abdy) attest to the couple's persistent attempts during the mid-

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1930's to get *Stanzas* into print. Another relevant letter in the Beinecke manuscript collection is to Stein from Robert Herring, editor of the London journal *Life and Letters To-Day*. Writing on October 9, 1936, Herring acknowledges receipt of the *Stanzas* ms. and asks permission to publish a portion; five stanzas on four pages appeared in the Winter 1936 issue. American readers were introduced to the poem in February 1940, when *Poetry* published six stanzas. The complete work is readily available today in *The Yale Gertrude Stein*, a paperbound edition published in 1980.

Stanzas in Meditation has evoked basically three types of critical response. Early reviewers found it incomprehensible. In his 1958 article, "Obscurity, Exhibitionism, and Gertrude Stein," D. C. Yalden-Thomson suggested that perhaps the influence of German philosophers would explain "Gertrude Stein's contempt for clarity." He predicted that because of its difficulty, *Stanzas* would receive little attention, "whether they deserve better or not."[2] Hilary Corke, writing in *The Kenyon Review* three years later, had no doubt about what *Stanzas* deserved: it was "deliberately meaningless rubbish" and "perhaps the dreariest long poem in the world, offering the absolute minimum in reward or pleasure against somewhere near the maximum in obstruction."[3]

In answer to these detractors, scholars sympathetic to Steinian literary experiments declared that the poem was not supposed to "mean" anything in the traditional sense of that word. Donald Sutherland said in his preface to *Stanzas in Meditation and Other Poems (1929–1933)* that Stein was trying to convert ideas into poetry, to focus attention as in a Pindaric ode, on "the movement and accent of phrasing as the syntactical and rhetorical figures are played on or against or over the lines and metric, and, in cases of rhyme, the rhymes."[4] For Sutherland, as later for Shirley Neuman and Richard Kostelanetz, *Stanzas* is an abstract poem in which Stein tests the possibilities of her medium—language—using a specific subject (again like Pindar) as "rather a point of departure than a topic" for exposition (x). One thinks of the representational elements in a Cubist painting—a violin, the top of a glass, fingers of a hand—all recognizable but important primarily as structural components of the painting rather than as referents to a specific external reality.[5] Shirley Neuman reads *Stanzas* as a "linguistic construct" in which Stein treats words not as units of meaning but as self-contained units of perception, "discrete components" arranged to "represent the simultaneity of consciousness," regardless of their conventional semantic content.[6] Similarly, in his introduction to the *Yale*

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Gertrude Stein, Richard Kostelanetz classifies *Stanzas* with those works in which Stein experiments with "nonsemantic" ways of achieving "linguistic coherence" through such devices as "diction, alliteration, rhythm, rhyme, timbre, repetition. . . ."[7]

A third approach to *Stanzas* that falls between the two already described is the one taken by Richard Bridgman. Bridgman acknowledges the inexplicability of "a good portion" of *Stanzas,* but argues that the poem does have a story line and identifiable characters.[8] For Bridgman, *Stanzas* is "a Steinian apologia for consenting to produce a popular book"—*The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (213). Based on his reading of the poem, Bridgman asserts that Stein was composing *Stanzas* at night as a way to redeem herself for writing the Toklas narrative in a popular style during the day (214).[9] He summarizes the plot of *Stanzas* as follows:

> that certain people urged Gertrude Stein to write her memoirs in a straightforward manner, that Alice concurred, and that, with considerable reservations, Gertrude Stein finally agreed to undertake some sort of collaborative effort. (214)

Bridgman correctly argues that enough passages in *Stanzas* refer to *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* to justify viewing the poem as a "parallel autobiography" (217), a cryptic commentary on the conflict Stein experienced in writing the Toklas narrative. But while his approach illuminates the poem more fully than does the nonsemantic approach of critics like Neuman and Kostelanetz, it does not go far enough in interpreting *Stanzas.* And Bridgman misses entirely the role of *Stanzas* as a chronological/aesthetic bridge to *Everybody's Autobiography.*

As my essay will show, in many of the poem's seemingly "inexplicable" passages, where Stein appears simply to be engaging in abstract pattern play—trying out the effects of different word and phrase combinations on the rhythm of her poetic line—she is actually exploring on a linguistic level the psychic costs of her literary collaboration with Alice Toklas. From this perspective, the abstract style of *Stanzas* will be seen to serve a practical as well as an aesthetic function. It allows Stein to express covertly her uncertainties and ambivalence over the decision to "combine" with Alice Toklas on an autobiographical project. "[T]o tell very well/How I felt then and how I feel now" (*SIM,* 438), Stein needed the protection of an abstract style.[10]

The language of *Stanzas* functions like the assumed narrator of *The Autobiography,* enabling Stein to maintain a degree of privacy while

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describing the events of her life and the personal relations that immediately concern her. In the prose narrative she distances herself from the audience by filtering her history through the perceptions of Alice Toklas. In *Stanzas* she achieves distance by employing a language with few proper names or images and hundreds of shifting personal pronouns. As she so accurately puts it, "No one knows the use of him and her" (397). At least no one can be absolutely certain. The degree of abstraction in *Stanzas* suggests the strength of Stein's wish to conceal this vulnerable private self, so different from the public image she projected. But the protective measure is not completely successful. Stein reveals her feelings in the act of concealing them, and in so doing, she provides readers of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* with a means of interpreting that carefully controlled narrative.

Stanzas in Meditation is a poem in five parts—Parts I–IV ranging from nineteen to twenty-five pages in length and Part V covering sixty-one pages. Readers who choose to dip into the work at random as Sutherland recommends (xx), will find a varied treasure in the current of reflection. There are riddles, puns, and paradoxes in abundance: for example, "There is no beginning to an end/But there is a beginning and an end/To beginning" (438). There is the familiar Steinian playfulness with logical relations: "I went often and I was not mistaken./And why was I not mistaken/Because I went often." (371) and whimsical expressions of preference: "I like a moth in love and months/But they will always say the same thing when/They sing singing" (377). Advice for gardeners and neurotics is free for the taking: "Fifty percent of the roses should be cut/The rest should bloom upon their branch" (462); "After all who makes any other small or tall" (320). To those temporarily at sea in a welter of negative subordinate clauses, the author candidly admits, "Whenever I return to this it is dull" (415), and follows a few pages later with a reassuring, saving image: "I have lost the thread of my discourse./This is it it makes no difference if we find it" (419).[11]

Readers who follow Stein's discourse from the beginning of *Stanzas* straight through will receive valuable, if less immediate, compensation for their trouble. They will get a strong impression of the poem's recurring themes: in particular, thoughts on achieving fame and fortune without sacrificing artistic integrity. They will also be able to follow the emotional ebb and flow of the poem, as the speaker moves from a position of bluff self-confidence ("I have my well-wishers thank you.") at the end of Part I, through anxiety and self-questioning (Stanza V/"I think very well of my way."/Stanza VI/"May be I do but I

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doubt it") about midway through the poem, to a positive conclusion ("I will be well welcome when I come.").

Stanzas opens with a deceptively straightforward line:

I caught a bird which made a ball

but the ambiguous statement that completes this poetic assertion is more characteristic of stanzas to come:

And they thought better of it.

Sutherland glosses the first line as "I captured a 'lyricity' that constituted a complete and self-contained entity" (xiii), meaning, as I understand him, that the speaker brought an idea to such vivid life in art that it existed in complete freedom from an external referent. Sutherland offers this interpretation reluctantly, advising readers that the images in *Stanzas* are more appropriately valued for what they contribute to the poem's composition than for any semantic content they might yield. Nevertheless, the first two lines surely announce one of the primary subjects of *Stanzas*—audience response to the speaker's artistic achievement. The exact nature of that response is unclear. Is line 2 part of an incomplete comparison? ("They" thought more highly of this art than of what the speaker had previously done.) Or is it an idiomatic expression? ("They" had second thoughts, reservations about the work in question.) Whatever the interpretation, these opening lines clearly establish a basic conflict in the poem—between the "I" identified with Stein and the "they" who evaluate her work.

Other characters appear in the speaker's meditations. "She" usually refers to Alice Toklas. "She can be right she often is always/This is what I said I would say" (411) anticipates the passage in *Everybody's Autobiography* where Stein registers an ever so slight vexation at the consistency of her companion's discernment: "Alice Toklas says and she is always right so much so that I often ask does it not tire her" (*EA*, 123). "We" sometimes refers to Stein and Toklas: "Can we call ours a whole./Out from the whole wide world I chose thee" (325) or perhaps more inclusively to that circle of artists and writers who met at the rue de Fleurus salon before World War I: "Once now I will tell all which they tell lightly./How were we when we met" (321). In this last quotation, Stein expresses her intention to write the definitive version of those early years in Paris, now the subject of so much trivial talk.

In Part I of the poem (fifteen stanzas), the characters consider the achievement of fame and its effect on the creative person; power relations among intimates (for example, "They will be ought and auto-

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cratic/Come when they call." 325); and, persistently, the opinion of the audience toward the speaker's as yet unidentified composition: "They are very evenly tired with more of this" (333); "It is mine when they need to accept add me" (333); "They like my way it is partly mine" (331). Here Stein may well be referring to her decision to adopt the Toklas persona in *The Autobiography.*

Part II (nineteen stanzas) begins on an assertive note: "But how foolish to ask them if they like it/Most certainly they like it because they like what they have" (334). By Stanza VI, however, the speaker is again worried about the audience's approval: "Or do they like it too/ Or can they see it all/Or even might they not like it" (341–342). In Stanzas VII–IX, she admits her self-doubts but resolves to keep her own counsel: "Let me listen to me and not to them" (343). Another series of questions that emerges in this part of *Stanzas* concerns the speaker's literary practice. She wonders whether precision is important in historical accounts: "Or after all can there be any difference/ Between once in a while and very often" (345). She acknowledges the technique of removing the names from a work to allow greater freedom in structuring that work: "That they would have been named/Had not their labels been taken away/To make room for placing there" (349–350). Certainly in *Stanzas* Stein has replaced most names with pronouns, because, as she was to explain in her American lecture "Poetry and Grammar," pronouns offer "a greater possibility of being something than if they were as a noun is the name of anything" (*LIA,* 213–214). The key word for Stein here is *being.* Unlike nouns, which are closely tied to the specific things they name, pronouns can in Steinian hands function independently as self-contained linguistic units. The continual shifting of personal and relative pronouns in *Stanzas* exemplifies this freedom.

The final stanza of Part II exhibits a number of techniques and themes prominent in earlier passages. Stein had experimented with relative pronoun combinations in Stanzas XIV, XVI, and XVII, as in the lines "Or rather that which can which/Can which he which they can choose which" (350). In Stanza XIX she tries the phrase *in between* in various places in the poetic line. But what initially appears to be nothing more than nonsemantic pattern play, on closer inspection is revealed as yet another meditation on audience response:

A stanza in between shows restlessly that any queen
Any not a stanza in between for which before which
Any stanza for which in between
They will be for which in between

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Any stanza in between as like and they are likely
To have no use in cherishing. (353)

"In between" means "undecided" or "in an intermediate state." Evidently, "they are likely/To have no use" for this indeterminate verse. Bridgman has noted that though the identity of "they" in *Stanzas* cannot be exactly determined, we do know that "they" prefer traditional writing to literary experiment (Bridgman, 214). Early in Part II Stein had mused on how to deal with such people, deciding that it was best to state things plainly because they would not approve what they did not understand:

It is very well to have no thorough wishes
. . . . . .
And it is well to state that rain makes hills green
And the sky blue and the clouds dark
And the water water by them
As they will not like what they do not have (337–338)

Stein chafes under these limitations on her artisitic freedom, however, and in Part III, she often engages in linguistic analysis of the "in between" kind.

Over half of the twenty-three stanzas in Part III are very difficult to read. In general, Stein seems to be exploring on a linguistic level the issues of identity and difference, separation and conjunction that confronted her on a personal level as she was writing an autobiography in the voice of Alice Toklas. Stanzas V, VI, and XI illustrate this preoccupation. The speaker contemplates minimal pairs (a range/arrange; leaf/leave; favor/flavor[ed]), homophones (two/to; would/wood) and other visual or phonological connections and disjunctions between words: (mountain/maintain/mounting; which is/wishes). Recurring ideas in Part III hint at the specific context for Stein's linguistic meditations. There are many references to being known by name and questions about shared ownership. Perhaps most significantly, there are deliberations about whether or not to "collaborate" or "combine" (364, 369) and how to conceal connections: "Now how could you disguise joins" (373). Stein seems to be assessing her feelings about assuming another's name and identity: "After all I am known/Alone/And she calls it their pair" (373). By the end of the poem's next section she has apparently reconciled herself to a collaborative effort, but not before composing many more stanzas on the relation between being remembered —"winning"—and "One or two or one two or one or two or one" (381).

The link between Part IV of *Stanzas in Meditation* and *The Autobi-*

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ography of Alice B. Toklas is indisputable. In this section of the poem Stein identifies the work she has previously referred to as "this" or "it" or "mine": "This is an autobiography in two instances." (389) and "This is her autobiography one of two/But which it is no one which it is can know" (390). In the opening stanzas of Part IV, Stein muses about her desire for fame and about the fact of her genius. Through some exuberant wordplay on *one* and *won,* she anticipates her personal triumph in recreating the past: "I will be winning I won . . . To declare I declare I declare I win I won one" (381). In Stanza III she speaks very plainly about her reasons for writing her memoirs in a style not completely her own:

> Believe me it is not for pleasure that I do it
> Not only for pleasure for pleasure in it that I do it.
> I feel the necessity to do it
> Partly from need
> Partly from pride
> And partly from ambition. (384)

She wanted to be "well-known" and to have the money that a best-seller would bring. And, as she had admitted in Part III, she was "anxious to please" Alice Toklas and the others referred to in the poem as "they" (376). Thus, while she admits at the end of *Stanzas* that she "would have liked to be the only one." (459), she bows to Alice Toklas's wishes ("Who is winning why the answer of course is she is." 403) and writes the book in Toklas's terse and piquant style. After all, as Stein reassures herself in the closing Stanza of Part IV, "I also do have a place in any antedated rose" (403). This final stanza is filled with the spirit of reconciliation. Toklas and Stein seems to have made peace:

> We have decided that only one dahlia is beautiful
> That salads are not necessary
> And that she has been very kind about pansies. (403)

Though the talk is metaphorical, the message is clear: they speak with one voice; and that unity, in literature as in life, nurtures Stein's success. "I often think how celebrated I am," she muses, "And after all it astonishes even me."

Since the general subject of *Stanzas in Meditation* is writing, and specifically the writing of autobiography, it is not surprising to find scattered throughout the poem Steinian declarations of aesthetic principle. We have already noted the speaker's queries in Part II about

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accuracy in historical accounts. Part V, with eight-three stanzas by far the longest section of the poem, contains more of these musings on artistic theory and practice than any other part. Stein asserts in poetic form ideas that she would later explain in her lectures and essays of the mid-1930's.[12] Here are some of the most memorable statements of her views:

On *spontaneity:*
I like what I have not prepared before of course not. (407)
On *repetition:*
I mean I mean is always said again.
Remember what I said it is not just the same (409)
On the importance of staying in the *"continuous present":*
The beginning makes it truly be (413)
On the need to exclude the *audience* at the moment of creation:
I should often know that it makes a difference not to /look/ about (413)

Stein also defines some critical terms in Part V: "A stanza should be thought" (429) and "Exile is this they could come again" (432). If "they" refers to Stein's audience as it does through much of *Stanzas,* then "exile" results from the intrusion of that audience at the moment of creation. Stein had expressed a similar concern in an earlier passage when she warned against acknowledging others' reactions to one's work: "You should never be pleased with anything/If so they will crowd" (399). Of course, as we have already seen, *Stanzas* is full of evidence that during October and November 1932, when she was conceiving and writing the Toklas narrative, Stein often worried about audience reactions. In Stanza XVII of Part V she admits to this recurring anxiety ("I have been worried I will be worried again") and counsels herself three times "Not to be interested in how they think" (421); but, as she predicted, by Stanza LIII she is back to wondering whether "they" will like her (446). Stein is stern with herself about this violation of artistic principle. She knows that by agreeing to write in a chatty style rather than in her typically obscure one, she has allowed Alice Toklas to usurp her artistic prerogative. Yet given the devotion which motivated her companion, Stein concludes that "Shove is a proof of love" (455). In two direct addresses to her beloved in Part V (410, 463), Stein shows how deeply such devotion is reciprocated.

Stanzas in Meditation ends on a positive note. The speaker manages to salvage her pride by turning the "collaboration" with Alice Toklas into a triumph over autobiographical convention: "Now that I have written it twice/It is not as alike as once" she exclaims (458). But

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readers who have traveled this far with Stein know very well what that victory has cost her. We recall lines expressing the writer's sense of loss at having assumed the voice and role of another: "I cannot often be without my name." (365), and "I feel that I have given this away./I wish now to think of possession" (441). Given these expressions of feeling in *Stanzas,* we must, I think, read with a certain skepticism, Stein's remark that she wrote *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* "as a joke" (*A Primer,* 19). And remembering those bold assertions of genius in *The Autobiography,* we must begin to wonder whether they were the words of genuine self-assurance or bravado.

After reading *Stanzas in Meditation,* we see in a somewhat different light Stein's choice of Toklas as narrator of the 1933 autobiography. Her adoption of the Toklas persona suggest not just a clever strategy for advertising her gifts or flouting literary convention, but a way of satisfying prospective readers who might have been put off by her own often bewildering style. The narrative technique thus represents both an act of self-assertion and a painful self-effacement, a concession to the audience. Her reasons for assuming the role of Alice Toklas were neither purely aesthetic nor entirely voluntary, though she gradually began to enjoy that role and at the end of *Stanzas* claimed, as her own, the decision to write in Toklas's eminently readable style: "Everybody knows that I chose" (464).

Furthermore, by speaking through the voice of Alice Toklas, Stein could bolster her conviction of personal superiority. Lynn Bloom has shown how the assumed narrator continually reinforces and enhances her subject's own declarations of personal distinction.[13] In her role as *"reinforcing-reporter,"* says Bloom, "Toklas" offers the following comment by Gertrude Stein:

> The young often when they have learnt all they can learn accuse her of an inordinate pride. She says yes of course. She realises that in english literature in her time she is the only one. She has always known it and now she says it. (*ABT,* 77)

The narrator then cleverly exposes the blindness of these youth by contrasting them with Stein's friends who have found "her advice and criticism . . . invaluable." She uses Picasso as the telling example. With two supposedly separate people proclaiming Stein's genius (not to mention the countless others called to bear witness), it is no wonder that this theme dominates *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas.*

A passage in Part IV of *Stanzas* directly corroborates the idea that Stein relied on Toklas to confirm her self-assessment and bring others to acknowledge her genius.

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She knew that she could know
That a genius was a genius
Because just so she could know
She did know three or so
So she says and what she says
No one can deny or try
What if she says.
Many can be unkind but welcome to be kind
Which they agree to agree to follow behind.
Her here.
Not clearly not as no mistake
Those who are not mistaken can make no mistake. (390)

Apparently, Toklas (and Stein) was convinced of her power to recognize genius because she had already recognized three—one of them Gertrude Stein—as we know from reading the account of their first meeting in *The Autobiography.* Only the "unkind" would deny her this power; "kind" people would agree with her assessment. The final line of the "argument" is a classic Steinian *non sequitur.* In the absence of public acclaim[14] and logical proof, Stein counted on the authority of Alice Toklas's subjective experience to confirm her genius.

If *Stanzas in Meditation* somewhat alters our view of Stein in *The Autobiography,* it also causes us to see Alice Toklas differently—as playing a more independent role in her relationship with Stein than is immediately apparent from the narrative. From this perspective, Stein's choice of narrator suggests not simply the intimacy of the Stein-Toklas relationship but the reciprocity of roles between the two women—the probability that they shared the positions of leader and follower more equally than the 1933 autobiography seems to indicate.

In the mini-biography at the beginning of the Toklas narrative, "Alice Toklas" describes herself as a "gently-bred" American woman who, prior to 1907, had "had some intellectual adventures . . . but very quiet ones." Then she met the genius Gertrude Stein and went to live in the midst of an artistic revolution. Presenting herself in the next chapters as a novice among intellectual masters, "Toklas" tells how she began her "apprenticeship," sitting with the wives of geniuses, standing in Montmartre to look at pictures (*ABT,* 21), and serving at the rue de Fleurus as Stein's secretary, companion, and representative in the mundane affairs of daily life.

In this account of Toklas's entry into the Paris art world under the guidance of Gertrude Stein, one hears echoes of a similar story that Stein chose to leave untold: the account of her own introduction to Cézanne, Picasso, and others through her brother Leo. Gertrude Stein

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may not have been as new to modern painting in 1903 as Alice Toklas was in 1907, but in one important way their experiences were parallel: when each first came to live in Paris, she followed the lead of one more knowledgeable in art and aesthetics. As Leon Katz puts it, "There can . . . be no doubt that in the voyage of brother and sister toward the center of the then current revolution in painting, it was Leo who steered the course."[15] Yet in the chapter of *The Autobiography* which describes these years (1903–07), Stein plays down her role as a follower. She writes as though she and Leo discovered Cézanne together and as though it was she, who, seeing Matisse's *Femme au Chapeau* as "perfectly natural," persuaded Leo to buy it.

Leo tells a different story. In *Journey Into the Self* he says that he first began looking at Cézanne at Vollard's in the spring of 1904 on the advice of Bernard Berenson, and that he was alone when he bought his first Cézanne in the summer of 1904. Soon after, he went to Florence, where he spent hours looking at the Cézanne collection of Charles Loeser.[16] Irene Gordon suggests that Gertrude must have seen her first Cézanne during this summer in Florence and that Leo "shared this latest discovery with his sister."[17]

The circumstances surrounding the purchase of the *Femme au Chapeau* are admittedly controversial, as Katz and James Mellow point out.[18] Matisse asserts in *Testimony Against Gertrude Stein* that it was not Gertrude, but Sarah Stein, who discussed with Leo the "advisability" of buying the painting.[19] However it happened, Gertrude Stein characteristically chose to cast herself as the leader or at least her brother's equal in the matter of buying and interpreting modern art. She assigned her former role of follower to Alice Toklas, and through impersonation relived that role without a loss to her image as genius.

Although Alice Toklas was generally the less dominant personality of the two, *The Autobiography* yields some evidence of her powerful influence and initiative—qualities apparent in *Stanzas in Meditation.* It was Toklas who decided that she and Stein would work for the American Fund for French Wounded (168); it was also Toklas who, although she knew little of the book trade, created the Plain Edition to publish Stein's work (242). In doing so she became, in effect, the "adventurous" publisher whom Stein had sought for so long. Alice Toklas, like the author of *The Autobiography,* could perform well in a role that would please her friend and create a public for Gertrude Stein's work.

Looking at *The Autobiography* in the light of *Stanzas in Meditation,* then, greatly alters our view of Stein's relation to her audience and particularly to one member of that audience—Alice Toklas. The choice of

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Toklas as narrative persona represents a balancing of self-assertion with self-effacement, of self-sufficiency with the acknowledgment of a need for others. Stein's use of this narrative perspective also attests to the reciprocity of dominance and dependence in the relations between Alice Toklas and Gertrude Stein. Stein still commands the center stage in *The Autobiography,* but we are more keenly aware of the presence of Alice Toklas wielding psychological and editorial influence behind the scenes.

Stanzas is valuable not only because it enables readers to put Stein's public memoir in perspective, to correct the somewhat distorted view of her which emerges from the Toklas narrative. It is also important in reconciling the Steinian persona of *The Autobiography* with the self-image she projects in the 1937 sequel, *Everybody's Autobiography.* Several scholars have discussed the differences between these two autobiographies in terms of Stein's theories of narrative, her concern to transcend time and memory.[20] Stein herself invited this line of criticism when she explained in *Everybody's Autobiography* that she had not achieved her goal of writing "simple narrative" in the 1933 work:

> the first autobiography . . . was a description and a creation . . . not a simple narrative of what is happening not as if it had happened not as if it is happening but as if it is existing simply that thing. And now in this book I have done it if I have done it. (302–303)

In *The Autobiography* she had created both another person's point of view and a myth about herself as a genius. In *Everybody's Autobiography* she was trying to tell stories—mainly about the changes she was experiencing as a result of having written a bestseller—and to tell them in such a way that time ceased to exist. As she explained this idea to Robert Haas in an interview in 1946, "You have to denude yourself of time so that writing time does not exist. . . . There should not be a sense of time, but an existence suspended in time" (*A Primer,* 20).

Coming to *Everybody's Autobiography* from *Stanzas,* what one notices is Stein's open solicitude for her audience. Perhaps since her stated aim in *Everybody's Autobiography*—to suspend narrative time—is much more consciously aesthetic than her aim in the 1933 work—to write a bestseller that would gain for her the recognition she felt she deserved—Stein may have felt the need to encourage the audience so as not to lose those readers she had won over with *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas.* At times she directly addresses readers, reassuring them that though they may not readily see the connections between stories within a chapter, the connections are there and will become

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apparent if the readers have patience (*EA*, 10).[21] At other times she says that she is withholding explanations for some puzzling events. Readers will understand at the point in the story when she herself first understood those events (21, 36).

This stance toward the audience is especially evident in her story of Picasso's poetry writing, which he took up after separating from his wife, saying that he would probably "never paint again" (18). As she tells this story Stein is more openly attentive to the needs of her audience than in the Toklas narrative. There her solicitation is covert: she impersonates someone with a highly readable style and popular interests. Here she directly solicits the readers' cooperation and patience while she attempts to achieve her aim of writing "simple narrative."

But the Picasso story is important for another reason. It sets the tone for this more serious, "rather sad" book as Stein described it ("And Now"). In Chapter I of *Everybody's Autobiography* the author portrays a troubled Picasso, depressed by a failed marriage, no longer painting, and fearing that his inactivity may be permanent. Chapter II shows Stein herself in a troubled and uncreative state. In the context of private quarrels (with her literary agent, with Virgil Thomson, and Francis Rose), local violence (the deaths of two women in the neighborhood), and general unrest (a depressed economy, unemployment, and fear of revolution), Stein tells how the financial success of *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* and the notoriety it brought her had radically altered her relation to her writing and had upset her former stable view of herself:

> . . . suddenly it was all different, what I did had a value that made people ready to pay, up to that time everything I did had a value because nobody was ready to pay. . . . when your public knows you and does not want to pay for you and when your public knows you and does want to pay for you, you are not the same you. (44–45)

Having lost her mental equilibrium and the concentration necessary for creating art, Stein had stopped writing and had begun to worry about her identity: "I had always been I because I had words that had to be written inside me and now any word I had inside could be spoken it did not need to be written. I am I because my little dog knows me. But was I I when I had no written word inside me" (64). When she comes in Chapter III to consider what it is that makes someone a genius, she asks a personally troubling question: "And if you stop writing if you are a genius and you have stopped writing are you still one if you have stopped writing" (85).

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Thus, in the presentation of the theme of genius, *Everybody's Autobiography* contrasts distinctly with the autobiography of 1933. In *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas,* Stein's genius is categorically affirmed by the assumed narrator, who reports and reinforces Stein's own vigorous assertions of singularity. In *Everybody's Autobiography,* the reality of that genius becomes problematic for the author/narrator Gertrude Stein. One can say in summary that in the Toklas narrative the idea of genius takes the form of a declaration: "in english literature in her time" Gertrude Stein "is the only one"; while in the later autobiography it becomes two questions: what is genius? and am I one? Stein defined genius as that condition or capacity which enables a person, through the creation of art, to make time cease to exist (243, 281). She was able to reaffirm her right to a place in that category because she soon regained her mental equilibrium and began writing again. The answers she gave to these two questions must have helped the now almost sixty-year-old author to quiet her fear of death.[22]

The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas is perhaps Stein's most accessible work and the one which has contributed most to the popular image of this controversial author. As we have seen, however, the supremely confident character Stein creates for herself in *The Autobiography* is exaggerated, distorted by her skillful use of an assumed narrator, "Alice Toklas." Reading *Stanzas* allows us to correct this distorted view of Stein, for it contains the evidence of authorial vulnerability that she carefully excluded from her 1933 memoir. Our awareness of the conflict so vividly present in *Stanzas*—the pull between artistic principle and personal need—further enables us to reconcile the self-assured genius of the Toklas narrative with the troubled human being of *Everybody's Autobiography.* The poem thus becomes what a printer's error[23] has hinted at—"Stanzas in Mediation."

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NOTES

1. Page references cited parenthetically in the text refer to the following editions of Stein's work: *Stanzas in Meditation,* hereafter cited as *SIM,* in *The Yale Gertrude Stein,* selections and introduction by Richard Kostelanetz (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1980, pp. 316–464); reprinted from *Stanzas in Meditation and Other Poems (1929–1933),* Vol. Six of *The Yale Edition of The Unpublished Writings of Gertrude Stein,* ed. Carl Van Vechten, et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), used by permission; *Lectures in America,* hereafter *LIA* (1935; rpt. New York: Vintage Books, 1975); *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas,* hereafter *ABT* (1933; rpt. New York: Vintage

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Books, 1960); *Everybody's Autobiography,* hereafter *EA* (1937; rpt. New York: Vintage Books, 1973); "A Transatlantic Interview—1946" in *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein,* hereafter *A Primer,* ed. Robert Bartlett Haas (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1971); "And Now," *Vanity Fair,* 43 (September 1934), p. 35. Also cited are *Tender Buttons* (1914; rpt. *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein,* ed. Carl Van Vechten (New York: Vintage Books, 1962) and "Lifting Belly," in *Bee Time Vine and Other Pieces* (1913–1927), preface Virgil Thomson (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1953).

2. D. C. Yalden-Thomson, "Obscurity, Exhibitionism, and Gertrude Stein," *Virginia Quarterly Review,* 34 (Winter 1958), p. 133, 135.
3. Hilary Corke, "Reflections on a Great Stone Face: The Achievement of Gertrude Stein," *Kenyon Review,* 23 (Summer 1961), p. 372, 388. For citations of early reviews of *Stanzas* I am indebted to Maureen R. Liston, *Gertrude Stein: An Annotated Critical Bibliography* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 1979), pp. 168–169.
4. Donald Sutherland, "Preface: The Turning Point," *Stanzas in Meditation and Other Poems (1929–1933)* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1956), ix–x. Further references will be parenthetically cited in the text.
5. In *Cubism and Twentieth Century Art* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ and New York: Prentice-Hall and Abrams, 1976), Robert Rosenblum uses Braque's *Man with a Guitar* and Picasso's *Accordionist* (both 1911) to demonstrate that both painters "often provide realistic clues to carry us into the more arcane passages, where lines and planes seem to refer to nothing but themselves" (p. 47). Rosenblum's helpful book is recommended by Marjorie Perloff in "Poetry as Word-System: The Art of Gertrude Stein," *American Poetry Review,* 8 (September/October 1979), pp. 33–43; expanded in Perloff, *The Poetics of Indeterminacy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), pp. 67–108. See especially p. 72, n. 9.
6. S. C. Neuman, *Gertrude Stein: Autobiography and the Problem of Narration,* ELS Monograph Series No. 18 (Victoria, B.C.: English Literary Studies, 1979), p. 61.
7. Richard Kostelanetz, "Introduction," *The Yale Gertrude Stein,* xxviii.
8. Richard Bridgman, *Gertrude Stein in Pieces* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 217n. Further references will appear in the text.
9. Evidence that Stein wrote *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* and *Stanzas in Meditation* concurrently, the memoir by day and the poem at night, comes from Part V of *Stanzas.* The speaker repeatedly alludes to something she is writing at night which she prefers to what she is composing during the day. See p. 91, 95, 109, 116.
10. William H. Gass discusses Stein's use of a flat, abstract, and euphemistic "protective language" in *Q. E. D.* to distance herself from the novel's intimate subject (Stein's erotic entanglement with two other women), thereby avoiding "the risks of feeling." See "Gertrude Stein: Her Escape from Protective Language," *Fiction and the Figures of Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), pp. 88–90. More recently, Elizabeth Fifer has analyzed Stein's "witty code" used in erotic works of 1914–1921 to explore and celebrate her relationship with Alice Toklas. See "Is Flesh Advisable? The Interior Theater of Gertrude Stein," *Signs,* 4 (Spring 1979), pp. 472–483.
11. An examination of the mss. for *Stanzas* in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manu-

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script Library at Yale University reveals that Stein occasionally included in the poem her comments on the immediate writing situation. "Whenever I return to this it is dull" (p. 102) and "I have been interrupted by myself by this" (p. 99) are two such occasions. The darker ink and tenser handwriting in these two lines indicate that Stein had interrupted her writing session and commented on this fact when she resumed her work. According to Ellsworth Snyder, a musician in Madison, Wisconsin, for Stein as for the composer John Cage, whatever enters the artist's consciousness at the moment of creation—for example, bits of overheard conversation or environmental sounds—could legitimately be included in the composition. This aspect of Stein's work, observes Snyder, was noted by Virgil Thomson in reference to *Tender Buttons:* "in Gertrude Stein's method anything that comes to one in a moment of concentrated working is properly a part of the poem" (*Virgil Thomson,* New York: Knopf, 1966, p. 173). Snyder discussed Stein with Evelyn T. Beck for his series *Toasted Avant-Garde is My Ice Cream,* WHA radio, Madison, Wisconsin, 19 October 1975.

12. A succinct and clear account of Stein's aesthetic principles as she states them in "What Are Master-pieces and Why Are There So Few of Them" (written 1935, published 1940) is given by James Breslin in "Gertrude Stein and the Problems of Autobiography," *Georgia Review,* 33 (Winter 1979), pp. 901–903; reprinted in *Women's Autobiography,* ed. Estelle C. Jelinek (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 149–162. Breslin argues persuasively that Stein transcended autobiographical conventions to produce in *ABT* a work that did *not* violate her aesthetic principles as she had feared.
13. Lynn Z. Bloom, "Gertrude is Alice is Everybody: Innovation and Point of View in Gertrude Stein's Autobiographies," *Twentieth Century Literature,* 24 (Spring 1978), pp. 84–85.
14. Until *ABT* appeared in 1933, Stein had succeeded in getting only six works published in America; and of the works published in Europe between 1925 and 1932, four of the six were printed by Toklas in the Plain Edition. As the narrator of *ABT* reports, "Gertrude Stein was in those days a little bitter, all her unpublished manuscripts, and no hope of publication or serious recognition" (p. 197).
15. Leon Katz, "Matisse, Picasso and Gertrude Stein," *Four Americans in Paris,* ed. Irene Gordon (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), p. 51.
16. Leo Stein, *Journey Into the Self,* ed. Edmund Fuller (New York: Crown Publishers, 1950), p. 204.
17. Irene Gordon, "A World Beyond the World: The Discovery of Leo Stein," *Four Americans in Paris,* ed. Irene Gordon (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), p. 25.
18. Katz, p. 51; James Mellow, *Charmed Circle: Gertrude Stein & Company* (New York: Praeger, 1974), pp. 81–82, 402.
19. Henri Matisse, *Testimony Against Gertrude Stein,* Supplement to *Transition,* 23 (July 1935), p. 3.
20. In *Educated Lives: The Rise of Modern Autobiography in America* (Columbus: Ohio Univ. Press, 1976), Thomas Cooley describes the difference between *ABT* and *EA* in terms of the distinction Stein makes in *The Geographical History of America* between "human nature" (being in time) and "the human mind"

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(existing outside time). In Cooley's view Stein decided that *ABT* was "a work of human nature" and set out to write in *EA* "a work of the human mind." See Cooley, pp. 156–178, especially 158–159 and 171–173. G. Thomas Couser (*American Autobiography: The Prophetic Mode,* Amherst: Univ. Mass. Press, 1979) also sees *EA* as Stein's attempt "to confront and perhaps resolve the problems of the first autobiography by writing a sequel" (p. 154). In the context of his theory on the prophetic tradition in American autobiography, Couser traces a development in Stein's autobiographical writing from the expression of mainly personal and aesthetic concerns in *ABT,* through her account of her relation to a whole country, America, in *EA,* to her meditation on the meaning of World War II for the community with whom she lived and for the world in general in *Wars I Have Seen.*

21. Stein's assumption in *EA* that she had an audience to be encouraged represents a striking advance in authorial confidence in the thirty years following her writing of *The Making of Americans.* Near the beginning of that work, the narrator questions whether there is or ever will be "any such a creature" as "my reader": "but truly I never feel it that there ever can be for me any such a creature, no it is this scribbled and dirty and lined paper that is really to be to me always my receiver. . . ." She pleads with this difficult-to-imagine audience to "arm yourself in every kind of a way to be patient and to be eager. . . . and wait while I hasten slowly forwards, and love, please, this history of this decent family's progress." (See *The Making of Americans,* preface by Bernard Fäy [New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1934, 1962, p.37.]) The author of *EA,* in contrast, writes simply "but wait and you will see."
22. Bridgman sees *EA* as chronicling its author's struggle with the "spectre of death," a fear she reported having had since the age of eight, when she first realized that the Old Testament did not mention "a future life or eternity," and which was augmented by later realizations that many civilizations had passed from the earth. A genius, as Stein defined one, could escape this burden of mortality, for genius "is the existing without any internal recognition of time" (*EA,* 243). See Bridgman, pp. 269, 280–281.
23. The typographical error appears in Breslin, *Women's Autobiography,* p. 152.

I wish to thank the Capitol Campus Research Council of the Pennsylvania State University for a travel grant which enabled me to examine Stein's manuscripts at the Beinecke Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library of Yale University.

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Gerry H. Brookes

Fictional Forms in William Hale White's *Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* and *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance*

For Victorian scholars William Hale White's *Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* (1881) and *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance* (1885) raise the question of how literary criticism should deal with works that seem a mix of fictional and autobiographical materials. They may be treated as mixed works, but doing so avoids a leading question in genre theory, whether there is an informing principle, fictional or autobiographical, to which the various elements may be subordinated.

I mean to argue that in the *Autobiography* the fictional and any autobiographical elements are subordinated to the dramatic representation of an egotistical character in a particular predicament that is worked out according to the principles of plot. Although *Deliverance* takes up again the narrative of the life of the same character, White shifts his focus onto communal principles of adaptation to modern life, which he exemplifies in various lives, giving his work an exemplary shape, that of an apologue. Both works have forms that approximate those of narrative fiction, and they should be judged accordingly.[1]

Although some critics have been content to consider the works amorphous fictionalized autobiography, interpretation from the start has been dominated by the hypothesis that the works have the coherence and power of autobiography, that is, that their effect depends on their representing experience that is prior to the text, which is what I seek to deny. In reviewing both books, William Dean Howells remarked, "When you have read the books you feel that you have witnessed the career of a man as you might have witnessed it in the world and not in a book. We could not give too strong an impression of this

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incomparable sincerity" (485). White himself encouraged the tendency to read the works as autobiographical. Referring to the *Autobiography* and *Deliverance* in *The Early Life of Mark Rutherford (W. Hale White)*—a title that indicates his public identification with his protagonist[2]—White remarked, "I have been asked at 78 years old to set down what I remember of my early life. A good deal of it has been told before under a semi-transparent disguise, with much added which is entirely fictitious" (5).[3] While his remarks encourage viewing the works as at least mixed in genre, they do not provide an indication of the principles according to which he uses both fictional and autobiographical materials. His claim that much of the narrative is fictional has not been sufficient to discourage critics from viewing it as essentially self-expressive, in part because no fictional form seems evident to them.[4] On the other hand, the works are clearly not pure autobiography. Originally, in responding to Howells, even White himself seemed momentarily convinced that he had not invented any of the narrative but had simply recorded it. He wrote Howells that he "never should have dreamed of publishing anything if it had not struck me when I was fifty that perhaps some of my experiences were worth recording for the sake of those who were brought up as I was" (Stone 124). This justification for publishing is, of course, very close to that claimed by his protagonist in the opening pages of the *Autobiography* (Ch. 1: p. 2). White apparently could not bring himself to admit that the impression of sincerity could be a creation of his art and was not simply implicit in a bare account of his own life. White seems to have been willing to risk confusion about the extent to which the works were records of verifiable experiences. The autobiographical impression that the works created, a strain of expressive criticism ready to embrace such an impression, and White's cooperation in allowing himself and his protagonist to be confused have all made it difficult to escape seeing the works as autobiography. James Anthony Froude, whose *The Nemesis of Faith* suffered from similar confusion in readers' minds, added a note to his text insisting that his protagonist's experience was not his own (xv–xvi).[5] White never wrote such a note.

This view, that White wrote only autobiography, rests on much that cannot be verified, often on an apparent intuition that some higher truth about the author is being told, rather than any literal one.[6] An obvious reason for thinking that no literal truth is being told is that Rutherford's and White's lives do not conform in many details. Important influences on White, such as his father and Caleb Morris, for example, are not present, and the significant episode in *Deliverance* of

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opening a room for the working poor of Drury Lane has no analogue in White's life. Any intrusion of White's father, for example, who recited Byron from memory and was drawn away from the meeting house by Carlyle's early works, would have forced White to change significantly the course of Mark Rutherford's life. Catherine Macdonald Maclean has even suggested that the life story actually presented resembles those of two of White's friends, William Chignell and William Macall, more closely than his own (227). The discrepancies between White's life and his protagonist's seem to suggest that he is turning his materials away from whatever meaning might be inherent in the story of his own life and toward something else. Yet these fictionalized details commonly drive the critics back into a more ineffable realm of essential truths, unknown facts, and psychological mysteries. Wilfred Stone, for example, who knows White's life more intimately than anyone, insists that all explanations of the details in the works must be biographical: the Drury Lane episode, for example, cannot be imaginary but must be based on some experience that White had but we cannot document (Stone 138). Obviously, any work in some measure arises from its author's experience. The real question is what is the form that "formulates" his experience.

In his influential essay on White, Basil Willey warns that Mark Rutherford is not White, only "a projection from White's personality" (190). But in documenting the progress of his thought, Willey cannot help seeing these books as allegories of White's experience. Asking whether in the *Autobiography,* "he was not dramatizing a typical experience rather than recounting his own," Willey concludes that "Hale White's habit is to stick closely to the inner facts, however he may alter the outward details of his own life" (213). The critical question is not, however, whether White is presenting a *typical* experience or *his* own. The life he presents is *both* typical and unique, and much of its uniqueness springs from "outward details"—why are they not "outward facts" in Willey's formulation?—that are different from those of White's life. Further, the distinction between inner and outer is not helpful, since the internal facts of Rutherford's life are, as we shall see, densely intertwined with the external. Whether human experience is dualistic (say, inner and outer) or holistic is an issue for White and a dilemma for Rutherford. The elements of experience, however, which might form a unity but often in White's eyes do not—that is, personality, physical well-being, ideas, community, circumstances—correspond to the elements of dramatic narrative. In such a narrative they can be manipulated experimentally and imaginatively, free from the ground

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of actual experience, free from the distinction between inner and outer reality, which forms the basis of Willey's claim for biographical authenticity.

The distinction between telling one's own life story and telling a typical one is not useful. If White told his own, it would perforce have to be both typical and unique for anyone to be interested. White himself believed that there are common or typical threads running through lives, but that the condition of each life varies, often in frustrating, isolating ways. Bunyan, whom White describes more than twenty years later, is like Rutherford but still unlike him. His *Grace Abounding* is "a terrible story of a peculiarly nervous and almost hypochondriacal temperament; whose sufferings, although they are inter-twisted with Puritanism, have roots which lie deep in our common nature. Bunyan's object in writing it was not the pleasure of self-analysis, but to strengthen those of his friends who had suffered his temptations" (*Bunyan* 8). Like many of his own critics, White was interested in the lives of which literary works were the expression. He viewed Byron, for example, as "a mass of living energy, and it is this which makes him so perpetually attractive and sanative [healing] too. For energy, power, is the one thing after which we pine, especially in a sickly age. . . . The real man, Byron, and his poems are perfectly unconscious, as unconscious as the wind" ("Byron" 184–85). Truths lie in the experience out of which men speak. But men and experiences differ. Rutherford, of course, is not given the genius of Bunyan or the power of Byron, although he shares Puritan-like suffering with one and a "sickly age" with the other. White portrays Rutherford's life as both representative and particular, making him like other sensitive sufferers, the distant type of whom he takes to be Christ, but making his suffering more "commonplace" (*Autob.* 1:1). The conditions under which he endures makes any consolation his life might offer much less certain than what Bunyan's affords. In short Rutherford's life is representative but unique, worked out in particular circumstances that govern its shape and implications.

If Rutherford's life is significantly different from White's, he clearly uses autobiographical materials and presents ideas and observations of his own, which appear elsewhere in his journals and other works. But the fictional and autobiographical materials are shaped within forms that make them intelligible, satisfying, and important, apart from the complex, extra-literary context of White's life. Both the *Autobiography* and *Deliverance* can be understood without a sense that some external truths or facts about the author are at issue or have the power to con-

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firm or deny the substance of the narratives, as is certainly the case with overt autobiographies like Newman's *Apologia* or Mill's *Autobiography.* Rather than telling his own story, White fuses fictional and autobiographical materials into a dramatic account of the life of a hypothetical person in the *Autobiography* and then, in *Deliverance,* into a set of hypothetical examples of how some people adapt to the disabling conditions of modern life. Stone remarks that whenever White used personal experience in the *Autobiography,* he distorted it in order to make Rutherford's situation worse than his own had been (Stone 89). Indeed, some of his former schoolmates objected to his apparent unfairness to the president of the college he attended, a version of whom oppresses Rutherford (Stone 36). These distortions are necessary to the consistent effect White wishes to create. Ultimately the books are powerful evidence of the nature of White's view of the world, but they are only indirect evidence of his personal experience.

A number of framing devices, like the use of a fictional author and editor, point to the hypothetical nature of the narratives, inclining one to think that the experiences described are not necessarily true or are at least intended to seem more hypothetical than actual. The devices certainly work to forestall the reader's inclination to test the narratives against other accounts of the same life. The reader asks whether the text presents a plausible and internally consistent life story, not whether it presents a plausible version of the life of an actual person who may be inquired after. Yet a much more powerful indication of the nature of the narratives resides in the familiar informing shapes of fiction, in the principles governing the forms of the works. One need not be surprised to discover from external sources that, as in much fiction, some episodes are versions of real events, but their power resides fully in the context of these works, where it lies in their probability, not in their verifiability or their accuracy as records of William Hale White's experience. Tacitly, one perceives that a whole, actual life could not arrange itself so neatly to fit the demands of the implicit forms, and it is hard to conceive of any reader, with vision unclouded by biography or romantic bias, becoming persuaded that these books are true and accurate accounts of the life of a real man.

The formal principles in question, however, are framed within the conventions of autobiography. In the *Autobiography,* White has Rutherford narrate in chronological order his life story from childhood, through his efforts at the ministry, to his work for a radical publisher in London. *Deliverance* continues this story to Rutherford's death but treats the conventions of autobiography more loosely. Since the two

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works are different, it will be best to concentrate on the *Autobiography* first. The frame of the *Autobiography* has a somewhat chaotic appearance, which makes the work's form more difficult to perceive. White said that he wrote the *Autobiography* at "extraordinary high pressure" (D. White, *Diary* 51), haste that shows in long paragraphs that cover a range of subjects and in abrupt transitions, both of which make the work seem at times organized by the order of thought, by little more than recollection and association. The occasionally haphazard appearance of the narrative makes it seem more spontaneously confessional of course, and the off-handed advice on curing alcoholism or dealing with passion in boys, for example, makes the work seem casually discursive. Yet its form is not casual. The work gains its considerable power through patterns that emerge in the episodes of Rutherford's life, precisely the kind of patterns that appear in plotted fiction, that is, in imitations of actions, in imitations that involve the reader in inferring the nature of justice and degree of charity accorded the protagonist as a consequence of the interworkings of his character, thoughts, actions, and circumstances within the events that constitute this portion of his life. The work has the sort of dramatic organization that Aristotle describes in the *Poetics,* though it is, of course, not a play but a narrative.[7] Rather than observing the working out of human relationships as on a stage, we read the protagonist's account of them, and his attitude in the telling is part of the drama. This life story involves us not only in understanding but also in creating and satisfying expectations that do not derive from any effort at an accurate representation of something prior to and separate from the narrative itself.[8]

Expectations are raised by the pattern of events that emerges within a sequence of causally related episodes. The sequence may seem puzzling because while the episodes spring from each other in an intelligible way, they are not so closely linked that they give a very specific sense of inevitable progress along a line toward resolution. White does not go so far toward disrupting ordinary sequences of causes as does Hardy in his late novels, but he creates a similar sense that frustrating events like these were going to happen no matter what the specific causes. His ability to do so depends on his establishing that a wide range of causes can affect the protagonist. Rutherford may be thwarted or thwart himself in numerous ways. White focuses our generalized concern about causes and effects on specific elements of Rutherford's predicament, on his search for a place in the world, for companionship, and for some stabilizing of his speculation. These quite human objectives are interrelated and bear directly on another concern, his

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health and happiness. Rutherford is vulnerable in any and all of these spheres, which, of course, complicates any progess he might make.

Those scholars who have used these books to illuminate an actual, historical crisis of faith (and whose interest in the authenticity of the narrative is thereby enhanced) have emphasized Rutherford's ideas, but it should be noted that his predicament is a complex human one and only partly philosophical, a predicament both particular and representative, one that involves a characteristically uncertain Victorian idealism. His personal predicament is the result of being brought up in a Dissenting community unable to prepare him to cope with the current doubts about "the old anthropomorphic and miraculous religion" that Matthew Arnold remarked in 1877 "no longer reaches and rules" the popular mind "as it once did" (149). The problem is deepened by Rutherford's unsteady personality, his own and partly unique sense of isolaton and alienation, his incapacity to turn outward from the self, which is where all the pain is. Within and without, all is chaos and pain.

In representing Rutherford's struggles to bring himself and his spiritual life into some accommodation with the world he faces, White controls our expectations by creating three alternatives for Rutherford. First, he can remain passive in the face of the misery of his circumstances, can succumb, for example, to the deadening effect that life among the Dissenters and Unitarians has on him, which threatens despair, alcoholism, hypochondria, and finally sheer panic. Second, he can perceive, and be attracted to the prospect of, connection with the divine, the Christ-like touch of someone who will care for him, elevation into an exalted spiritual and emotional state, with, say, the help of Handel and the company of friends. The possibility of a life that touches the infinite is so compelling that he cannot abandon it, in spite of the attraction of a third possibility. Third and finally, he can move toward some accommodation with the world and toward greater readiness to settle for moments of happiness in the midst of reduced misery, the alternative he finally chooses. This possibility is kept before us in the examples presented by the Misses Arbour, the butterfly man, Mary Mardon, and Theresa Wollaston, people who have made adjustments or, in Darwinian terms, adaptations that ease their sufferings. The possibility is also pressed by the older narrator who constantly suggests that at a later date he has learned some consoling lesson. "Only when I got much older," he says characteristically, "did I discern the duty of accepting life as God has made it, and thankfully receiving any scrap of love offered to me, no matter how imperfect it

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might be" (2:25). The curl of Rutherford's lip implicit in the words "scrap" and "imperfect" are, however, an indication that any fictive submission to this alternative will not come easily, given his perfectionism, however much it promises to relieve the tension that drives him to such emotional extremes. Rutherford's contempt for anything less than the best takes on a life of its own.

As readers, however, we can predict that he will move toward accommodation, away from the worst miseries and short of a fully spiritual life, although how far he will go may remain unclear. This alternative is made to seem likely because pursuit of the Christ-like possibility tends to increase the likelihood that the worst will occur. That is, his pursuit of this possibility in his speculations and first efforts—pursuit of perfect human relationships and of responsiveness on the part of the infinite and the human—leads him to blunders, frustration, and misery, to failure in the ministry and to hypochondriacal panic at the prospect of teaching at a boys' school. Yet this path through humiliation and sorrow also leads tacitly to greater understanding of the world, some capacity to endure, and greater freedom to live the life he wishes. Rutherford remarks ironically that when he was a boy, Sundays were "compensation" for the "perfect poetic pleasures" of childhood spent in the country (1:5), part of the bad compensations held in tension with the good in Rutherford's life. Pursuit of the best possibilities, available only for brief moments, increases the incidence of the worst. In his pursuing the Christ-like, he pays dearly for what he wants, without getting much of it.

Character, ideas, and circumstances combine to force Rutherford to view himself as one of a particular class of people—the weak, the commonplace, and the lonely, whose lives he hopes to make more bearable by the example of his own (1:2). He has a special susceptibility to depression and hypochondria, which at first encourages alcoholism and mental paralysis but which he gradually learns to suffer with greater patience. He is also prey to self-contempt and has a compulsive desire to confess his weaknesses, often interrupting the flow of the narrative in order to do so. This habit is one of the elements of what we might agree with Gamini Salgado to call "the rhetoric of sincerity," and it encourages the impression that the work is confessional or autobiographical. White, however, binds this compulsion up with Rutherford's view of the world. He makes Rutherford a weak character, lonely, not assertive, physically and spiritually susceptible, yet desirous of something beyond what his circumstances make available. His ambition is extraordinary, springing from such unlikely circumstances

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and accompanied by such contempt for others and for ordinary ways of life. His predicament is tied to his ideas and beliefs, often explicated and sometimes misperceived. White's own views can be associated with idealism, which seeks ultimate reality through the spiritual elements of human experience. Maurice Mandelbaum points out that the nineteenth-century manifestations of idealism tended to "view God and the social world as synonymous" (35) and could accommodate Darwinism, identifying "true religion with a worship of the immanent power which was at work in nature, evolving higher forms of existence, bringing mankind out of crudity, ignorance, and selfishness into altruism, knowledge, and culture" (35). Rutherford's thinking is a variation of this position and is implicit in the narrative from the beginning, even though the younger Rutherford is supposed to be brought up as a Dissenter, implicit in the values inherent in the older narrator's judgments from the start, in the distinction between Rutherford's idyllic weekdays as a child and his Sundays, in his susceptibility to Wordsworth, and in the readiness with which he moves to a secularized view of Christ as a man who suffers. Basil Willey considers White "an embodiment of the Puritan spirit adrift in the Age of Agnosticism" (186–87). But, if one puts one's knowledge of White's biography aside, Rutherford is better considered an instinctive idealist who approaches agnosticism *because of apparent failures of idealism, not of Calvinism.* He comes to doubt his inherited Calvinism, although he never loses many Puritan tendencies, but he is never brought to give up an idealist position, religious and widely shared. Rutherford, in short, is a child of the nineteenth-century, not the seventeenth.

Rutherford's idealism creates problems for him and somewhat puzzling formal signals for the reader because it takes an idiosyncratic and confining form. One of Rutherford's greatest difficulties stems from a set of metaphors that permeates his thinking and channels it along rather narrow lines. The central metaphor is that of scale of hierarchy: "On whatever lines the world may be framed, there must be *distinction, difference,* a higher and a lower; and the lower relatively to the higher, must always be an evil. The *scale* upon which the higher and lower both are, makes no difference. The supremest bliss would not be bliss if it were not *definable* bliss" (6:85). This view, which permits him to preserve the dualism of Calvinism within the frame of the oneness of idealism, comes down to a species of Darwinism: "The law of the universe everywhere is rather the perpetual rise from the lower to the higher; an immortality of aspiration after more perfect types; a suppression and happy forgetfulness of its comparative failures"

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(6:76). The protagonist's difficulty here is that he counts himself among the comparative failures, but he sees no reason why he should be and fears what Tennyson also feared in *In Memoriam*, that God in Darwinian form is careless of the individual. Only he feels it personally.

The metaphor of hierarchy reinforces related and powerful philosophical pairs that Rutherford uses to divide up the world he encounters.[9] Thus the ideal is set against the ordinary, the infinite against the commonplace, sympathy against coldness, emptiness or worldliness against spirituality. His categories, sustained by his idealism, give his judgments of others a Puritan severity. Either persons touch the universal, as he puts it, or they remain low and unworthy of such notice. Also, his sense of spiritual or moral hierarchy blends with his perception of the social scale in ways that confuse and frustrate him. He is constantly baffled that those, like himself, who deserve recognition, in part because they need it so badly, are not granted it. Worse, in pursuing their own spiritual lights, that is, in being their best selves, they experience humiliation, shame, and frustration. When Mary Mardon sings, "He was despised," Rutherford seems to himself "to be listening to the tragedy of all human worth and genius" (6:90). Life after death might rectify the injustice of the world, but that solace is increasingly closed off. If justice is to be done, it must be done in this world, and it is not, at least insofar as he can tell. Still, he strives to raise himself on all of the scales that he perceives—or at least, on the social scale, to maintain himself and not to be put down. He dwells, for example, on what he views as the highest issues, finding the semi-scientific activities of the reasonably well-adjusted butterfly collector to be "mere solemn trifling compared with the investigation of those great questions with which I had been occupied" (8:108). But he does not find himself in a just and responsive world, and his efforts tend to isolate him and to bring greater shame on him for his social and professional failures.

White increases sympathy by making us see that Rutherford's thinking traps him in painful paradoxes. He looks inward, where he should find his own spiritual being and a link with the larger spirit, but he finds weakness and shame. He looks outward, and he sees some evidence of an immanent God but also a complex and apparently unjust reality that does not permit him to infer the coherent set of laws that govern the universe, that is, to know the mind of the prime mover. He is pushed toward atheism by Mardon, but he does not abandon the idea that an intelligence different from but greater than a human one operates in the world. "We are able to see," he concludes, "that the

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arrangements which we would make, if we had the control of the universe, would be more absurd than those that prevail now" (9:136), which is not a strong affirmation but also not atheism. We see that even the skeptic Mardon is susceptible to being moved by the spirit of the universe, which means that, in White's conception, he is a spiritual being of a higher order. White controls our expectations for Rutherford by making us perceive that the nature of his fictive human beings makes atheism impossible.

Rutherford's thinking is problematical in at least one other respect that has a direct bearing on our perception of form. A modern reader is likely to notice that much of what happens to him is a result of circumstances, occurrences over which no person has any control. He is raised, not by choice, in a Dissenting household and educated badly for the ministry. The options open to him are continuously narrowed by his situation; he does not have much control over what he does or whom he lives among. When the Unitarian congregation invites him to their pulpit, he remarks, "I pondered over the matter a good deal, and then reflected that in a case where every opening is barred save one, it is our duty not to plunge at an impassable barrier, but to take that one opening, however unpromising it may be" (7:96). He is unfortunate in his choice of women, with none of whom he can make a successful marriage. Moreover, he has little means of explaining how or why barriers lie before him in some directions and not in others. He despairs at understanding the workings of "the only God whom I knew, the forces which maintained the universe" (8:110). He is aware of the voices telling him to be patient, including Mardon's (whose person and voice, like others, arise as reflexes of Rutherford's needs, not simply as accidents).[10] Rutherford also knows something of the lesson of slow healing from his experience of depression and bad health, but his intellectual response to his predicament is not very penetrating, while his emotional and psychological response is powerful. Mary Mardon's refusal of him, because of her devotion to her father, simply drives him into an attack of monomania and that special misery that "lies in the belief that suffering of this kind is peculiar to ourselves" (7:98). He has no perspective on his circumstances, except to notice them as the occasion of his suffering. He tends to blame other people for his unhappiness, often for their passivity and want of spirit or sympathy, and to turn upon himself. He acts as if he were stigmatized for some unknown reason, envious of others, deficient in himself, and personally responsible for much of what goes wrong.

Rutherford's constant confessions of weakness, which seem eccentric and compulsive, thus spring in part from his view of the world,

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from his temperament, and from his circumstances. And they can, incidentally, be best represented dramatically. When he rebuffs his petty nemesis Snale with justifiable anger, and Snale does an appropriate pratfall, Rutherford cannot take any satisfaction in what has happened. Instead he turns on himself: "When I got home I bitterly regretted what had happened. I never regret anything more than the loss of self-mastery" (6:82).[11] Even when circumstances, in the form of the stool on which Snale is sitting, slip in the right direction, he has no means of taking any satisfaction in them. He might notice, as the form of the work makes us do, that circumstances, in conjunction with the choices he makes—or refuses to make—indeed force events gradually in the direction of moderating his suffering and of making accommodation more nearly possible. But Rutherford is not ready to perceive or accept fully the change. The fictions tells us what the protagonist's consciousness does not.

White makes us understand this pattern in Rutherford's life, to know the interplay among his character, ideas, and circumstances, and to anticipate its consequences. The plot places intense pressure on Rutherford to make the accommodation; yet, as we have seen, his resistance to doing so, in spite of the pain he helps to bring on himself, makes him seem grimly heroic. Rutherford's last words to us are morbid and pessimistic. For him "the hour of illumination has not yet come." He is even willing to resist ordinary Victorian optimism about inevitable progress, adding, "Whether it ever will come to a more nobly developed race, we cannot tell" (9:137). After Rutherford's narration ends, White has Reuben Shapcott assure us, as the older narrator has tried to do all along, that Rutherford changes, not by giving up speculation entirely, but by being content gradually to "rest and wait" (9:139).

White also has Shapcott promise some continuation of the narrative, which White obviously had in mind and which became *Deliverance.* The Rutherford encountered there, as we shall see, is a different man. In the *Autobiography,* however, White surely chose a natural way out of his dilemma, ending the narrative where he does and, in effect, sending Rutherford off on a long vacation. The task of making him into what Shapcott and the older narrator, at least overtly, seem to want him to become would not be easy, and the change is more easily implied than shown.

In *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance,* White can present Rutherford more as he wishes him to be, without the difficulty of dramatizing the

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transformation. White has Shapcott remark that he hopes to recover additional portions of Rutherford's manuscript because "I am afraid that up to this point he has misrepresented himself, and that those who read his story will think him nothing but a mere egoist, selfish and self-absorbed" (9:139). In the *Autobiography,* Rutherford is these things and more, but he is not by the end of it transformed, as we should not be surprised to discover. *Deliverance,* on the other hand, proposes strategies of adaptation that an older Rutherford can at least contemplate.

Deliverance is commonly taken to be less successful than the *Autobiography* and to be less well made, usually as a consequence of applying the wrong standards. In it White shifts the focus onto the social implications of Rutherford's ideas, by presenting a series of examples of how different people have adapted to contemporary social conditions. This more generalized concern naturally disappoints those who seek implicit confession or disguised autobiography. The work's rather different form may make it seem less well constructed. *Deliverance* is different and needs to be judged on its own terms. Like the *Autobiography,* it has an implicitly fictional form. Realistic and naturalistic as some of its episodes may seem, they are framed as fictional examples. As in the *Autobiography,* White certainly uses autobiographical as well as fictional materials, but both are presented as hypothetical and not as referring to something prior to the apparently fictional narrative. One suspends disbelief not because the events seem actually to have happened but because, given such conditions, such events could have happened.

Rutherford is, as promised, presented in a much less egotistical light, but he is placed among other individuals facing analogous difficulties. Interest in his fate is subordinated to a more generalized interest in how these different people, including him, adapt to the conditions of modern life. The result of this shift in emphasis is a different form, which satisfies several demands. White undoubtedly felt himself under considerable cultural pressure to close Rutherford's Byron and open his Goethe, to have him, like John Stuart Mill, overcome concern for self by finding satisfaction in what is done for others (Mill, *Autobiography* 85–86).[12] Further, White's fiction seems always to have an exploratory quality that leads him to hold up different individuals as specimens rather than linking them causally, in plots. *Clara Hopgood,* for example is full of characters who break off the on-going story to recount their own lives or someone else's. In fact, the *Autobiography* is remarkable among his works in that there, in the work often taken to

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be his least fictional, he manages plotted fiction by subordinating biographies and biographical anecdotes to Rutherford's story, though not without visible effort. In *Deliverance,* he simply organizes his general concerns into a series of examples, subordinating interest even in the protagonist's specific fate to them. The break between the two works also allows him to avoid the difficulties he had in the *Autobiography* in bringing Rutherford to a less egotistical and more generous state of mind. In the introduction to his extremely useful collection, *Approaches to Victorian Autobiography,* George P. Landow reiterates Wayne Shumaker's observation that many autobiographers have difficulty representing the shift from adolescence to adulthood, from an unstable to a stable personality, as do, it might be added, many nineteenth-century novelists (xxix–xl). This difficulty, complicated by his somewhat truculent protagonist, encouraged White to exaggerate a common break in narratives of life stories by presenting the adult Rutherford in a second volume.

Some confusion about the nature of *Deliverance* is plausible enough. It is more overtly philosophical and more discursive than the *Autobiography,* and its narrative seems disjunctive, especially when it turns abruptly from from the plight of the London poor to the story of an eccentric woman Rutherford valued when a child. These subjects seem unrelated, as if this were a fictional representation of an unsophisticated autobiography in which anything relevant to the writer's thoughts and experiences could be included. But the subjects are related, analogous examples, tied more closely to the narrative scheme than appears at first. The narrative divides into two skeins. The first recounts Rutherford's and his friend M'Kay's attempts to save souls in Drury Lane; the second traces, by an unannounced route, the course of events leading to Rutherford's marriage and relative happiness with Ellen, the girl to whom he was engaged for a time in the *Autobiography.* These qualities in *Deliverance* are not necessarily weaknesses but are in fact signs of a different and coherent intention. Within this narrative frame, White embeds his set of fictional examples of persons who adapt or are helped to adapt to the spiritlessness of modern life, in particular to the suffering caused by "the neglect or oppression of man" (5:213). *Deliverance* approaches the form that Sheldon Sacks describes as an apologue or work "organized as a fictional example of the truth of a formulable statement or a series of such statements" (Sacks 26). White exemplifies what Rutherford calls "the religion of the Reconciliation, the reconciliation of man with God," which is achieved by "making it my duty of duties to suppress revolt, and sub-

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mit calmly and cheerfully to the Creator" (6:228). He does not prescribe passivity; but he promotes quiet adaptation to one's situation, seeking by one practical means or another to make life bearable. He shows, again, that if one adapts and assumes the proper attitude, then there will be "some compensation" (6:229), perhaps even momentary joy. There is less rebelliousness here and less passionate self-destructiveness than in the *Autobiography. Deliverance* is more self-assured and in some ways more coherent, although its coherence is different.

As in the *Autobiography,* no overt claims are made that the examples are based on actual experience, yet so compelling is the conviction that they must be authentic that their implicit coherence may be overlooked, even though it is based on formal principles prone to stimulate invention. For example, White's presentation of the wretched of Drury Lane has always seemed puzzling to those who assume that he is presenting a version of his own experience. Although, as Stone has shown, White had some knowledge of Drury Lane, he did no such social work. Still, Stone insists, these are "sociological studies which could have been drawn only from life" (138). If one frees oneself from the idea that White is representing his own prior experience, then one can see that while these characters may be drawn from some observation, they are certainly drawn from conviction, from belief in a certain approach to suffering. The work is not modified a whit if, as appears the case, White made the whole episode up.

White describes these Drury Lane characters both in order to show how the doctrine of Renunciation can work even in the least probable cases and to show that human progress is possible in spite of fears about the ignorant masses. Some of his concern is contemporary, that is, focused on current debate about extension of the franchise. Rutherford remarks that decisions in Parliament, where he, like White, has become a reporter, are now made in ignorance, which some take to be an argument against extending the franchise. But, Rutherford counters, the average dock worker has better reasons for doing what he does than do the Members. Indeed, he finds a heightened sensitivity in the multitude "to impressions to which men hedged round by impregnable conventionalities cannot yield" (1:149). White includes a footnote: "This was written many years ago, but is curiously pertinent to the discussions of this year.—EDITOR, 1984" (1:149). Of course the passage was not written many years before, and White wants to show, by hypothetical example, that human progress and compensation through Renunciation are possible even for the least of those who might come to share power in the future. "I wondered," Rutherford says, "how

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men could be worth anything if they could never see the face of nature. . . . Hope, faith, and God seemed impossible among the smoke of the streets" (1:149). White has him find what seems impossible, although not without some trial.

In representing this foray into Voluntaryism, White is responding to a movement in the 1880's to provide, either through organized religions or by other means, for the material and spiritual needs of the urban poor (see Inglis 62–74). White wishes first to suggest some of the ways in which hope, faith, and God are not likely to be applied successfully in this environment. He has Rutherford and his friend M'Kay, who appears serious about religion, observe the hopelessness both of Sunday worship in London and of the spectacle of free thinkers baiting an orthodox preacher. M'Kay, however, perceives a more hopeful alternative, seeing "in the history of all great religious movements, a record of the improvement of the human race, or of large portions of it, not merely by gradual civilisation, but by inspiration spreading itself suddenly" (2:167). Through Rutherford's experience White shows that in actuality much less can be hoped for, but that by ministering in small ways to the immediate needs of the few men who seek help, M'Kay and Rutherford can improve their lives. Neither orthodox religion nor inspiration will assist these men, but some compensation can be achieved by personal, practical aid, which demands that they be seen as individuals with particular needs. Part of White's radicalism is his willingness to see, at least imaginatively, Christ-like suffering at the extreme of the human order, "at the bottom of the great cities" (5:209). At first Rutherford, faced with the "ball of adamant" of Drury Lane can only "faintly, and I was about to say stupidly, hope—for I had no rational, tangible grounds for hoping—that some force of which we are not aware might some day develop itself which will be able to resist and remove the pressure which sweeps and crushes into a hell, sealed from the upper air, millions of human souls every year in one quarter of the globe alone" (5:209–10). Partial grounds for hope, White demonstrates, lie in the ability of M'Kay and Rutherford to save a few. Thus the account of their work in Drury Lane is an attempt to exemplify the power of certain ideas applied where they appear least likely of success. White's essentially fictional, narrative form allows him to make his ideas more credible by making them seem drawn from as well as tested by experience.

Abruptly at the start of Chapter III, "Miss Leroy," White breaks off Rutherford's account of the Drury Lane experiment, turning to what appears a random reminiscence of childhood. Gradually it becomes

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obvious that he is pursuing the second skein of his narrative, the history of the woman Rutherford eventually marries, who had become the widow of the son of the former Miss Leroy. This narrative link is weak, and, partly as a consequence, the analogical link among her, the London poor, Rutherford, and other emerging characters becomes stronger. Miss Leroy turns out to be another outsider who must adapt to the conditions of life, which in her case are the confines of a small and narrow-minded town, with the aid of unorthodox and somewhat eccentric Christianity. Like M'Kay she takes Jesus for her God, although she remains somewhat pagan in her intolerance of the weak and foolish (3:179). She takes the practical step of marrying George Butts, a placid local miller, and gains great freedom to pursue her own ways. "Thus," concludes Rutherford, "did Mrs. Butts live among us, as an Arabian bird with its peculiar habits, cries, and plumage might live in one of our barnyards with the ordinary barn-door fowls" (3:184). Mrs. Butts offers a contrast with Mrs. M'Kay, who suffers quietly from her husband's intolerance of her weaknesses. Rutherford describes her immediately at the end of the previous chapter, and her passivity may have brought the more aggressive Miss Leroy/Mrs. Butts to White's mind. Both women must be appreciated, and Rutherford testifies to Mrs. Butts's place in his heart and in his memory, "with all her faults and eccentricities," especially because she was "one of the very very few whom I have ever seen who knew how to love a child" (3:185).

White uses her son, Clem, to invert her eccentricity into a contrasting attitude that is anathema to Rutherford, "that the inferior ought to render perpetual incense to the superior, and that the superior should receive it as a matter of course" (3:189). The outwardly superior Clem is a kind of compensating evil to offset his mother's precious qualities and influence. White's interest in bad marriages has often been noticed, but he also seems to see a similar principle operating in families generally, in which good people, capable of some happiness, are linked to bad or at least troublesome ones. The butterfly man in the *Autobiography* has a deranged son, and Rutherford in *Deliverance* has a troubled step-daughter. Clem, presented according to a simple rhetorical principle of contrast, is a negative example, another oppressor of the neglected and unrecognized, whose power to wound is heightened by his success in the world and whose passions are unrestrained by Christianity.

Through Clem, White leads back to Ellen, Rutherford's former fiancee, a more positive example, with a more direct bearing on

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Rutherford. Clem marries her but encounters a squire's wife who agrees with him about the privileges of talent. This view is rebutted abruptly by the squire who surprises them in a familiar moment at the piano and drives Clem out of town. Clem's wife suffers, naturally, from his treatment of her. She also turns to the Bible and especially to Christ, although in a more traditonal Calvinistic way than do M'Kay and Miss Leroy. Rutherford discourses at some length about her Calvinism, asserting that it represents "a philosophy which is a necessity in all ages. 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.' This is the last word which can be said" (4:206). The consoling idea in this philosophy is that "for each individual soul there is a vocation as real as if that soul were alone upon the planet" (4:207). This view is stated with more conviction than in the *Autobiography,* and it accounts for White's desire to exemplify the "destiny which shall take care of every atom of life on the globe" at work in numerous lives, rather than in just one. Rutherford calls his discussion of these ideas "a long digression which I did not intend" and says that he was simply "anxious to show how Mrs. Butts met her trouble through her religion" (4:207). The discussion is hardly a digression. Having shown that religion can work in two different modern lives, according to individual needs and vocations, White has Rutherford return to the least probable cases, the oppressed of Drury Lane. His somewhat awkward organization has rhetorical advantages, since he returns us to Drury Lane more inclined to find credible the examples of success there.

A characteristic Victorian double impulse is at work in these examples of dealings with the lower classes. Rutherford wants to save individual souls, but he also fears the apocalypse that will come if nothing is done to stem the corruption loose in the districts of the poor. Social as well as spiritual progress depends on the outcome. The needs of the four men and one woman whom Rutherford describes are "intensely practical and special" (6:226), to be met by changing jobs or other adaptive strategies, not by the orthodox and uniform strategies of church or chapel, or, it should be noted, by Carlylean devotion to work. White, like Ruskin, had learned that the modern world creates tedious, repressive work that constitutes slavery. The spiritual needs of these people are met by Rutherford's doctrine of the Reconciliation, not by rebellion against the conditions of life, but by calm and even cheerful submission to the Creator (6:228). Rutherford and M'Kay's solution maintains a Protestant emphasis on the individual, demanding personal and not, for example, class remedies.

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From this more impersonal concern with the poor, White returns to the line of the narrative leading to Rutherford's marriage to Ellen Butts, exemplifying in the process the limited possibilities of happiness available more easily within the confines of private rather than public life. Each provides some compensation for the prior misery of the other, but, as Rutherford remarks, there are no epochs in life as there are in novels, no situations that fix a person's remaining career (8:246). Momentary joy is compensated by new misery. Rutherford's clerical work becomes almost as degrading as that of the men he has helped, and he applies the same kinds of remedies, securing for himself some freedom by isolating his family life from his work, seeking the best in literature, feeling the power of his wife's love, the kind of love that a despised menial can appreciate, since "those who are prosperous and courted cannot understand its power" (8:252). Rutherford becomes, again, another example of the truth of the ideas that concern White in the book. His wife's daughter, likewise, indicates conditions under which the most troublesome personality can flower forth, in this case in response to her mother's illness. This small family finally comes to some joy on a holiday after Ellen's recovery. But of course the joy is only momentary, and Rutherford dies shortly thereafter, apparently of a stroke suffered after he was abused by his tyrannical superior. His employers respond meanly, sending his salary to the date of his death and then his belongings, "carriage unpaid" (9:272). We could expect little more.

As Reuben Shapcott promised, *Deliverance* presents a less egotistical Rutherford. Here White uses him to tell us about the lives of numerous suffering individuals, not just his own, and rather than watching Rutherford himself founder in his struggle for answers to complex questions, we are shown repeatedly the efficacy of a certain attitude toward life. For this reason the book has a less unsettling effect. Although there are occasional lapses, places where just a bit of polishing would have made the narrative seem less disjunctive, the work is quite carefully arranged to show how different lives can be improved. *Deliverance* is thus well shaped to fulfill a purpose, but the purpose is different from that of the *Autobiography,* which, while it is not necessarily better shaped, has a dramatic form that most readers are likely to find more engaging. The two works are of a piece. The second allows White to avoid representing dramatically what would have proved a baffling but necessary transition from a Byronic Rutherford to the Goethean one. It also allows him to shift to a different fictional form better suited to the more general view he wished to embody—the indi-

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vidual egoist requires the fictive first person autobiography, while the narrative of collective careers requires the kalaidoscope of example. Fiction and "message" are one. While *Deliverance* is not less well constructed, it is likely that the *Autobiography,* with its special, personal intensity, will remain the favorite of most readers. The younger Rutherford, "Wandering between two worlds, one dead,/The other powerless to be born," remains a powerful image of a particular human plight (Arnold, "Stanzas" lines 85–86).[13] The hero of *Deliverance* delivers himself in ways that our civilization has not yet adopted. Both works use autobiographical and fictional materials, and while they thus spring from mixed sources, they have coherent forms that do something other than reveal or half-reveal the life of the author. The form is the content, and it is not autobiography.

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NOTES

1. This distinction between apologues and plotted narratives is made by Sheldon Sacks in his first chapter. See also Ralph W. Rader's revision of Sack's model of narratives that are imitations of actions (33–34). Others who have argued that the works are fictional, on grounds different from mine, include Gamini Salgado, who argues that the *Autobiography* is a novel, because it has a thematic organization, and that *Deliverance* is not. In fact, *Deliverance,* not the *Autobiography,* has a thematic organization. Irvin Stock argues loosely, in spite of the identity he sees between White and Rutherford, that the book is a novel organized around the theme of the conflict between reality and dream (92).
2. As W. Eugene Davis points out, White used Rutherford's name as a pseudonym selectively, in publishing subsequent fiction and some other works, including journals and this autobiography (97).
3. White also identified specific passages in the two books as autobiographical. See pp. 79 and 85 of *Early Life* and his remarks about the two works in *The Groombridge Diary.*
4. Wilfred H. Stone, for example, follows Howells, adding that the works possess slight fictional coloring and no plot and calling them "spiritual autobiography" (122). Stephen Merton argues that both the *Autobiography* and *Deliverance* are autobiographical and have no plot.
5. Stone points out that Froude's book was published by John Chapman, for whom White worked (50n; see also 172). White had been reading Froude's Bunyan (see White, "Froude" 313). Mark Rutherford's name echoes that of Froude's protagonist, Markham Sutherland, sufficiently to suggest the possibility of a further connection.
6. For an extreme statement of the view that works bearing little overt resemblance to narratives of their author's lives should nonetheless be considered autobiography, see William C. Spengemann.

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7. The argument made here follows Aristotle through R. S. Crane, Elder Olson, Sheldon Sacks, Ralph W. Rader, and Richard Levin.
8. Jina Politi emphasizes this distinction as it appears in Aristotle (17–24).
9. Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca discuss philosophical pairs (411–59).
10. Harry W. McCraw remarks that "every time Rutherford is faced with a different problem or situation, just then he meets with someone whose character and history are in some way helpful to him (45).
11. The idea of self-discipline seems to have been pervasive at the time White was writing. Owen Chadwick says that orthodoxy "believed with monk or puritan that goodness was to be found through the discipline of the self" (119).
12. In the same vein, Arnold says, "It turns out that the only real happiness is in a kind of impersonal higher life, where the happiness of others counts with a man as essential to his own" ("Preface" 157).
13. In the edition cited, Allott notes an echo in these lines of "Characteristics," an early essay by Carlyle, an important influence on White.

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Reviews

DAVID KOHN, ed., and Malcolm J. Kottler, asst. ed., *The Darwinian Heritage.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press in association with Nova Pacifica, 1985. 1138 pp. $95.00.

In the year 1982, in commemoration of the centennial of Charles Darwin's death, over one hundred symposia, lecture series, and special events, were held around the world: and over seventy publications of collected essays were devoted to the occasion.[1] The *Darwinian Heritage* contains 28 essays, and 3 commentaries, which were derived from a large Darwin Centennial symposium held in Florence, Italy—at the Florence Center for the History and Philosophy of Science—in June 1982. (Throughout Italy there was enormous attention given to the Centenary). The *Heritage's* authors come from different scholarly specialties (including biology, physics, psychology, literature, philosophy, and history), and different academic institutions in America, England, Italy, and France. They possess what the *Heritage* editor describes as "a high regard for Darwin" (1). They have long studied Darwin documents—often discussing their studies with each other—and they form a community of scholars, which did not exist in the year 1959 when the centenary of the *Origin of Species* was celebrated.

Over two thirds of the *Heritage* essays and commentaries are about aspects of Darwin's biography, and the remainder are about the comparative reception of Darwin's ideas in different countries and the historical and philosophical significance of his publications. Although all of the *Heritage* pieces are first-rate, in the following review I shall only consider the biographical ones. The continued absence of an adequate *Life* of Darwin makes these pieces especially timely and important for those who are interested in biography. I shall summarise how the pieces add new insights to our view of Darwin's scientific and social development; and how they sometimes fail to suggest personal and psychological forces which influenced this development. I shall also comment on the *Heritage's* comprehensive *Bibliography.*

Two essays are about Darwin's first scientific interests. Duncan Porter chronicles the early history of Darwin as a collector of different things: "all sorts of things" (974) as a Shrewsbury schoolboy; marine invertebrates as an Edinburgh medical student;

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beetles as a Cambridge divinity student. During the *Beagle* cruise he collected geological specimens, minerals, fossils, land and sea animals, insects, birds, reptiles, and plants—all of which would fuel his future publications. Phillip R. Sloan—"Darwin's Invertebrate Program, 1826–1836: Preconditions for Transformism"—shows how Darwin became prepared to believe in transmutation of species because of the following (hitherto unknown) sequence of thoughts. At Edinburgh in 1826–27 Darwin was influenced by his first zoology teacher, Dr. Robert Grant, to become interested in the "analytic" functions of invertebrate zoology, in " 'zoophytes' as possible keys to more complicated issues in biology", and in "embryological stages as indicative of taxonomic relationship." (86) During the *Beagle* voyage he thought about the nature of what he called the "granulated matter" which formed many invertebrates. (92) By the end of the voyage he had come to believe in "the strong analogy between plants and animals and the possibility of uniting these two kingdoms in a common point"; and he had given a "key role" to the "common granulated matter in reproduction of both animals and plants." (109–110) These thoughts then augmented his post-*Beagle* thoughts on the transmutation of species.

Frank Sulloway, in "Darwin's Early Intellectual Development: An Overview of the *Beagle* voyage (1831–1836)," selects letters that Darwin wrote to his friends and family during his 5 years on the *Beagle* and applies to the contents of these a specialised technique known as computer assisted content-analysis—which (as Sulloway notes) "can sometimes detect significant patterns of co-occurrence and dissociation that go unnoticed even in the most careful reading of a text." (124) Using this technique Sulloway shows how on the *Beagle* Darwin underwent four intellectual changes. From an early "anxious and insecure self image," with doubts about his ability to observe scientific phenomena, he developed "a confident self-image" with pride in his scientific work, and in his general observations about the places and peoples he had visited. (129) From an intellectual dependence on his Cambridge mentor J. S. Henslow—and a need for Henslow's intellectual reassurance—he formed a scientific independence from Henslow, which was shown by his being able to make three major geological discoveries. His anxiety, which was at first very severe, came to interfere less with his work (although he continued to have always the potential to experience an intense anxiety). He first vacillated between identification with his *Beagle* shipmates, and identification with his own work as ship's naturalist. His first identification then waned as he gained confidence in his work as a naturalist.

Sulloway summarises the results of his content-analysis procedures as follows: "At one historiographical level, scholars have certainly recognised that Darwin matured intellectually during the *Beagle* voyage and that this development entailed among other things a significant increase in his self-confidence. This study, however, suggests something more noteworthy, namely that Darwin's personal transformation in self-confidence and self-identity—not any specific discovery or his famous Galapagos visit —was actually the *Beagle* voyage's most important contribution to his subsequent success in science. This is not to say that Darwin's scientific work on the voyage is any less significant than historians have generally believed, but rather that its significance *for Darwin* can only be understood within the parallel context of his personal and psychological development on the *Beagle*." (146–147)

In the three year period of 1836–1839 after Darwin returned home from the *Beagle* —in his theorising about geology and the origin of species—he experienced the most intellectually creative period of his life.

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Sandra Herbert, in "Darwin the Young Geologist," recounts how Darwin first took the geologist Charles Lyell's theory of uniformitarianism as a point of departure in explaining the global action of elevation and subsidence; and then how he proceeded to imagine that these forces worked on a "larger scale—continents rather than patches," and that they effected "long-term changes in level rather than in temporary oscillations." (493) Martin Rudwick, in his Commetary on Herbert, states that Darwin wanted to surpass Lyell in his scientific work, and that after several years he: "must have sensed that, although he had gone beyond Lyell in some respects, he was unlikely to be able to make enough of an innovative break *within* geology (in the narrower sense) to get out of Lyell's shadow and thereby fufill his legitimate ambitions as a man of science. It is at this point, therefore that we can make sense of his growing involvement on the private level with the crucial but refractory biological problem of the origin of species, not only in terms of an evolving 'network' of personal research enterprises but also in terms of the construction of a scientific career." (517)[2]

A crucial episode, that influenced Darwin to believe in transmutation, and then to begin to search for a theory that would explain how transmutation had occurred, is described by Stan Rachootin in "Owen and Darwin Reading a Fossil: *Macrauchenia* in a Boney Light." Rachootin recounts how soon after the end of the *Beagle* voyage Darwin had the anatomist Richard Owen examine the fossil *Macrauchenia* which he had discovered in South America. The results of this examination then caused Owen to make changes in his classification of the ungulates. For Darwin—who showed no interest in Owen's changes—these same results became evidences for the process of one species of animals evolving from another species; a process which he then placed "in a geological, geographical, and ecological context . . . of his own." (179) Rachootin comments that this was an example of Darwin's "ability to misprise in a strong and creative way what experts in other fields have done." (179)

Several essayists consider how Darwin came to originate his theory of natural selection. M. J. S. Hodge and David Kohn show how for a time Darwin searched for a transmutation theory by considering the interaction over eons of time of the following factors: sexual generation which produces maturation and crossing; the changing geographic and geologic conditions which induce adaptive innovations in maturations; and the shifting avenues or barriers to migration which permit or prevent crossings. (186) Then on September 28, 1838 (perhaps with the idea of natural selection already half formed in his mind) Darwin read Malthus's account of the pressures which kept human population in check: and he was stimulated to visualise how natural selection operated among populations of animals and plants as a wedging force, sorting out those species which were best adapted, and allowing them to expand at the expense of less adapted species. (195)

Silvan Schweber believes that behind Darwin's Malthusian insight and formulation of natural selection there was "a deterministic, quantitative, Newtonian mechanistic conceptualisation of the world," which had crystallised out in the summer of 1838. (35) Howard Gruber views Darwin's pre-Malthus transmutation speculations as "a true epigenesis": a succession of intellectual constructs interlinked with the growing out of each other, and interacting with new circumstances. When Darwin then read Malthus he abstracted one "key idea" from this reading and then: "turned it upside down—from the scourge of humanity to the motor of evolution", and then added this to his previous constructs. (30–31)

The work of the above scholars—and of scholars who have proceeded and followed

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them—has resulted in more becoming known about the genesis of natural selection than at any previous time. What is especially interesting are some of the variform factors which influenced Darwin in making his discovery, and the varied ways that the discovery may be recounted and viewed. However, after reviewing this work, a Darwin scholar has written that: "we *still* cannot say precisely how Darwin arrived at his theory."[3]

The *Heritage* essays reveal that—while most of Darwin's mature intellectual life was dominated by the simple idea of transmutation—this idea caused him to undergo a number of different intellectual developments, which were ranging and complex—and sometimes quite contradictory. Ernst Mayr discusses Darwin's five theories of transmutation—evolution as such, common descent, gradualism, the multiplication of species, and natural selection—and their varying fates, commenting that: "Darwin was a great pioneer, a person with an exceptionally fertile mind, but like other fertile thinkers, he had considerable trouble sticking to a consistent 'party line.' On almost any subject he dealt with—and this includes almost all of his own theories—he not infrequently reversed himself." (756) Mayr observes that natural selection was Darwin's "most daring" and "novel theory", and that: "There was nothing like it in the whole philosophical literature form the pre-Socratics to Descartes, Leibniz, or Kant. It replaced the teleology in nature with an essentially mechanical explanation." (767)

M. J. S. Hodge, in "Darwin as a Lifelong Generation Theorist," surveys some of the main themes in Darwin's thinking, and then concludes that: "a major preoccupation of Darwin's from 1837 to his final years, was in extending analogical inferences, from the comparison of generation in individual organisms, to entities above and below them in the organizational hierarchy, all the way down to living 'atoms' and all the way up to the 'tree of life.' " (237–238) This involved a consideration both of the organic generational inheritance which Darwin had first encountered in the biological work of Dr. Grant, and then the geological inheritance which he had first encountered in the geological views of Charles Lyell, and with this "a definite asymmetry in the integration of the two." (238) Malcolm Kottler recounts the history of the debates between Darwin and Alfred Wallace on the role of natural selection in the origins of cross- and hybrid sterility, sexual dimorphism, and man. Kottler holds that these debates "were truly monumental intellectual confrontations" (368); perhaps "the most intellectually and emotionally dramatic episode of its kind in the entire history of evolutionary biology." (427) And that the debates raised "several fundamental issues concerning the nature of natural selection that are still subjects of controversy among evolutionary theorists, while the opposing positions they upheld over one hundred years ago remain prominent alternatives in the present day." (368)

Essays by John Durant, Richard Burkhardt, and Janet Browne show how Darwin first developed transmutationist ideas on the origin of man, animal behavior, and the expression of human emotions, in the late 1830s. How he long reflected on these ideas, and then published detailed expositions of them in 1871 and 1872 in the *Descent of Man* and the *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals.* Durant observes that in his writings on man Darwin "consistently interpreted animals and people in terms of each other. On the one hand, human thoughts and actions were explained in terms of animal instinct, and on the other, animal behavior was explained in terms of human thoughts and feelings." (291)

Gillian Beer, in her "Darwin's Reading and the Fictions of Development," suggests

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that Darwin's scientific thinking was influenced by his omniverous literary reading. That this reading first (during the years when he was originating his theory of natural selection) may have conditioned his insights about problems of creation, succession, and development; then that this reading influenced his writing of the *Origin,* where "he used narrative sequences and functional metaphor to control any over-simple developmental patterns." (543) It is also suggested that the *Origin* influenced George Eliot's novel *The Mill on the Floss,* and Robert Browning's poem *Caliban upon Setebos.*[4]

One of the more difficult problems of Darwin research is to reconstruct, from a great collection of loose notes that Darwin wrote in the 1840s and 1850s, how he came to formulate the principle of divergence—what he described in his *Autobiography* as "the tendency in organic beings descended from the same stock to diverge in character as they become modified."[5] David Kohn, in "Darwin's Principle of Divergence as Internal Dialogue," believes that Darwin mainly formulated the principle in November 1854; and that he saw the principle depending on vigorous multiplication of species, followed by vigorous natural selection. Yet he also continued to believe that some form of isolation was almost always necessary for the formation of new species. He was thus involved in a contradiction, which he never resolved, and which has been described as a "creative contradiction" and a "robust negative capability." (257)

Except for Sulloway, the above authors do not discuss psychological aspects of Darwin. Thus while the history of his different ideas is carefully recounted there is no account of his changing views of his scientific identity, of his changing concepts of his personal death, and of his conflicts about his friendships with scientists who did not support his ideas. There is only a passing reference to the long and complex interactions between Darwin's transmutation work and the exacerbations of his illness[6]; and no mention of Peter Brent's recent speculations about his concealed antipathies. Brent believes that as a child Darwin was intellectually criticised and downgraded by his father and sisters, and that as a result of this he then developed "a pool of unsuspected anger that he could draw on." Upholding his controversial ideas was his way of defiantly expressing this anger by telling his father and sisters "that they were wrong, that after all he was worthy of their respect and admiration."[7] Brent's speculation offers a plausible psychological explanation for the steady resolution with which Darwin supported his ideas.

Two essays are concerned with aspects of Darwin's social biography. James Secord recounts the hitherto untold history of Darwin's systematic attempts to associate with breeders of plants and animals so as to secure information for his ideas. Darwin had a remarkable ability to query others—and to get them to answer his queries—and in the course of these interactions he "remained remarkably fertile of smaller-scale hypotheses and creative extensions to his theory." (541) James Moore, in "Darwin of Down: the Evolutionist as Squarson-Naturalist," shows that during the forty years that Darwin lived at Down—along with his daily work on his revolutionary scientific ideas —he also developed the daily identity of a "squarson": an individual who upheld "the natural, the existing order of society," by combining the attributes of a squire and a parson. Thus Darwin served as a country magistrate, contributed to charities and a charitable club (a Downe Friendly Club), became a treasurer of a parish Sunday School, and often advised his acquaintances in different ways—including the medications they should take for a particular illness. And although he had privately given up his belief in Christianity he befriended several Down clergy. Moore believes that

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Darwin's squarson identity was largely influenced by the social roles of Victorian clergymen, including several of his friends who were naturalist-clergyman; and that "a chief reason why Darwin got on so well with clergyman [was] that he could even, to some extent, assume their social role." (476)

However Darwin's squarson identity may also have been influenced by his father, who—in addition to being a freethinker and a socially prominent physician—was also a financier who succesfully invested his money and kept careful accounts; a philanthropist who gave money to the needy and founded a children's school; and a savant who advised numerous individuals—in and outside of his medical practice—and who was known in his home town as a "local encyclopaedia."[8] After Darwin's father died he became a succesful financier and identified with his father's traits, which then fused with his squarson identity. Thus the later identity may have been more complex than Moore has suggested. And it may have been stimulated by Darwin's need to partially adapt to the prevailing religious establishment, and by an admiration for—and then identification with—the nonmedical traits of his father.

Each of the essays in *Heritage* has a concluding section of Notes which mention some of the important published and unpublished references for the particular essay. These references are then cited in detail in the *Bibliography* at the end of the *Heritage.* Some of the writings listed in the *Bibliography* are Darwin's works (including a few in foreign languages which contain material not available in English), those publications of Darwin's contemporaries which he especially studied, works on Victorian times and thought, and biographical works from Francis Darwin's 1887 *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* to the Darwin writings of the *Heritage* authors (it will be seen that there are shortcomings in the list of biographies). The *Bibliography* fills 75 pages, shows how varied, numerous—and how steadily increasing—publications on Darwin and Darwinism are (works in Russian, French, German, and Italian are cited).

Although it is a most comprehensive bibliography, it has omitted the following interesting and important essays and books: Gale on the development of Darwin's transmutation theory; Tallmadge and Stanbury on the *Beagle* voyage; Stevens's essay on Darwin's non-scientific reading; Wilson's essay on Victorian science.[9] A number of early Darwin biographies are omitted, even though some of these contain insightful observations.[10] There is mention of Irving Stone's fictional biography, *The Origin: a Biographical Novel of Charles Darwin,* and James Bunting's *Charles Darwin,* a children's biography: but no mention of other fictional accounts and children's biographies.[11] Jacques Barzun's 1941 book on *Darwin, Marx, Wagner: Critique of a Heritage* is cited, but not a 1962 *Symposium* on the same subject. There are many references to the impact of Darwin on Freud (including the important publications of Lucille Ritvo), but no mention of Alex Comfort's essay on this subject, or of his other writings which refer to Darwinism and psychoanalysis. Most of the publications referring to the contact—and supposed contact—between Darwin and Marx are mentioned, but the comprehensive history of the subject by this reviewer is not mentioned.[12] The *Bibliography* section on Darwin's works lists the first, 1839–1843, edition of his *Zoology of the Voyage of H. M. S. Beagle,* but not the 1979 reprint (even though recent reprints of some of Darwin's other books are listed). While the 1933 edition of Darwin's *Beagle* Diary is cited no mention is made of the 1979 facsimile publication of Darwin's original manuscript of this Diary.[13]

More will be known about Darwin when the volumes of his correspondence are published. However, although some volumes have already appeared,[14] it will be many years before the full correspondence—extending from 1821–1882, and totaling almost

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14,000 items—will be available. Until then the *Heritage* pieces reviewed here will probably constitute a major source for Darwin's intellectual biography. And although more will become known about the scientific origins of Darwin's thoughts, and about the psychological forces shaping some of these thoughts, the *Heritage* portrait of Darwin as a scientific thinker will probably remain substantially unaltered. Antonello La Vergata, in his essay, "Images of Darwin: a Historiographic Overview," after delineating the shortcomings of some previous views of Darwin, summarises the *Heritage* portrait (along with the work of some recent Darwin scholars) as follows: "Darwin has emerged as an interdisciplinary thinker who could move from field to field with unusual ease . . . a pluralist . . . a tenacious and even stubborn man steadfastly sticking to certain principles, but also imaginative, versatile, capable of entertaining a multiplicity of hypotheses at the same time, readier to adapt than to give up a theory, a highly strategical mind, often rigid but sometimes ready to rethink and revise a good many ideas after some crucial influence has modified the whole context . . . and a scientist by no means alienated, at least in his most creative period, from the object of his researches." (932)

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NOTES

1. Richard J. Wassersug and Michael R. Rose, "A Reader's Guide and Retrospective to the 1982 Darwin Centennial", *The Quarterly Review of Biology* 59 (4), December 1984, pp. 417–437.
2. This commentary has also been elaborated into an essay: Martin J. S. Rudwick, "Charles Darwin in London: The Integration of Public and Private Science," *Isis,* 73 (267), June 1982, pp. 186–206.
3. David R. Oldroyd, "How Did Darwin Arrive at His Theory?", *History of Science,* 22 (58), December 1984, pp. 325–374, 360.
4. This essay has also been elaborated into a book: Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983).
5. Nora Barlow, editor, *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin, 1809–1882,* (London: Collins, 1958), pp. 120–121.
6. This is discussed in: Ralph Colp, Jr., *To Be an Invalid: The Illness of Charles Darwin* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977).
7. Peter Brent, *Charles Darwin: A Man of Enlarged Curiosity* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1981), pp. 369–370.
8. Samuel Butler, *The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler* (London: John Murray, 1892), 2 vls., I, p. 288.
9. Barry G. Gale, *Evolution Without Evidences* (Albuqerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); John Tallmadge, "From Chronicle to Quest: The Shaping of Darwin's 'Voyage of the Beagle'," *Victorian Studies,* 23 (3), Spring 1980, pp. 325–345; David Stanbury, "H. M. S. 'Beagle' and the Peculair Service," in Roger G. Chapman and Cleveland T. Duval, editors, *Charles Darwin 1809–1882: A Centennial Commemorative* (Wellington, New Zealand: Nova Pacifica, 1982), pp. 61–100; J. Robert Stevens, "Darwin's Historiographic Reading," *Victo-*

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rian Studies, 26, (1), Autumn 1982, pp. 51–63; Leonard G. Wilson, "Science by Candlelight," in Josef L. Altholz, editor, *The Mind and Art of Victorian England* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1976), pp. 94–106.

10. These biographies, in order of publication, are: Prof. L. C. Miall, *The Life and Work of Charles Darwin; A lecture delivered to the Leeds Philosophical Society, on February 6th, 1883* (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1883), 62 pp.; Grant Allen, *Charles Darwin* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1885); G. T. Bettany, *Life of Charles Darwin* (London: Walter Scott, 1887); Charles Frederick Holder, *Charles Darwin, his life and work* (New York, London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1891); *Gamaliel Bradford,* Darwin (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926); George A. Dorsey, Ph.D., *The Evolution of Charles Darwin* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1927); Henshaw Ward, *Charles Darwin: The Man and his Warfare* (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1927); L. B. Pekin, *Darwin* (London: Hogarth Press, 1937).
11. Two adult fictional books which contain sections on Darwin are: Michael Hoskin, *The Mind of the Scientist* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1971); Richard M. Eakin, *Great Scientists Speak Again* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: The University of California Press, 1975). Six biographies of Darwin for children, arranged alphabetically by author, are: George A. Cooper, *Charles Darwin, voyager-naturalist* (the Macmillan Company, New York/Collier-Macmillan Ltd., London, 1966); Carla Greene, *Charles Darwin* (New York: The Dial Press, inc. 1968); Arthur S. Gregor, *Charles Darwin* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1966); Charlotte Hope, *The Young Charles Darwin* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1965); Millicent E. Selsam, *Around the World with Darwin* (New York, Evanston, and London: 1960); Sarah R. Riedman, *Charles Darwin* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959); *Peter Ward, The Adventures of Charels Darwin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
12. Henry L. Plaine, editor, *Darwin, Marx, and Wagner: a Symposium* (Ohio State University Press, 1962), contains Bentley Glass, "Darwinism in Modern Biology", and Richard Hofstadter, "Darwinism and Western Thought". Three publications by Alex Comfort which touch on Darwin and Freud are: "Darwin and Freud", *The Lancet,* July 16, 1960, pp. 107–111; *Darwin and the Naked Lady: Discursive Essays on Biology and Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1962); and *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1966). Ralph Colp, Jr., "The myth of the Darwin-Marx letter," *History of Political Economy,* 14 (4), 1982, pp. 461–482.
13. Charles Darwin (Editor), *The Zoology of the Voyage of HMS Beagle* (Nova Pacifica/ Canongate Publishing, 17 Jeffrey Street, Edinburgh, 1979), 3 vols; *Charles Darwin, The Journal of a Voyage in H. M. S. Beagle* (Guildford Surrey, England, Genesis Publications. In association with Australia and New Zealand Book Co., Brookvale, Australia, 1979).
14. Frederick Burkhardt and Sydney Smith, editors, *A Calendar of the Correspondence of Charles Darwin, 1821–1882* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985); Frederick Burkhardt and Sydney Smith, editors, *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin.* Volume 1: 1821–1836 (Cambridge/London/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Volume 2, covering the years 1837–1843, is scheduled to appear in the summer of this year.

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IRA BRUCE NADEL, *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984).

It would be perhaps best to begin discussion of Ira Bruce Nadel's *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form* with a summary of the contents. Chapter I discusses collective biographies, particularly the English Men of Letters series, and the *Dictionary of National Biography,* and argues for the importance of the brief life. Chapter II, "Biography as a Profession," discusses the career of John Forster, biographer of Goldsmith, Dickens, Swift, and others. Chapter III "Versions of the Life: George Eliot," compares scholarly, Freudian, and psychobiographical versions of Eliot's life. Chapter IV, "Writers as Biographers", discusses Elizabeth Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brone,* Henry James *Hawthorne,* Trollope's life of Thackeray, and Virginia Woolf's *Orlando,* as examples of biographies by authors known primarily as novelists. Chapter V, "Biography and Theory: Steps towards a Poetics," discusses the use of fictional devices such as metaphors, chronological narrative structures ("narratives of contiguity"), and cyclical repetitive narratives ("narratives of substitution"), and dramatic/expressive, objective/academic/, and interpretative/analytic narrative voices, as they contribute to the creation of the "life-myth" of the biographical subject, by which he seems to mean a unified public image. Chapter VI, "Experiment in Biography," discusses Erik Erikson's psychobiographies of Luther and Ghandi, biographies of groups united by ideology or taste like the Fabians, or the Bloomsbury circle, contextual biographies that stress the society rather than the subject, and various kinds of fictionalized biographies.

Nadel's central point is that biography ought to be more fictional:

> The solution to the dilemma of mimesis versus invention in biography may yet be through 'creative fact'. Virginia Woolf's term is not the impurity of fact but a near oxymoron recognizing the confusion, complexity and disorder of our lives and the determination not to make a biographical life a falsely ordered world. It is the response of biography to the kinds of perceptions modern literature has been grappling with since the late nineteenth century and a way of transforming biography into art via the imagination of the biographer. The result, often at the sacrifice of historical fact, is the establishment of an 'authorized fiction', an imaginative presentation of detail based on the understanding of the biographer of how his subject lived, psychologically and physically. Such a biography may sacrifice detail and, possibly, accuracy but not truth. (p. 205).

Put another way, factual biographies are bad in the sense that they are dated, and so do not reflect our current understanding of reality. "Nineteenth-century biography was impersonal, displaying an allegiance to documents and facts. It reflected identity and comfort with the reigning public culture. But the loss of faith in the impersonal, the recognition of the power of instability and the gradual prominence of personality made the previous biographical forms inadequate. In the quest for the personality of the subject biography welcomed psychology. . . . In the effort to promote intimacy via the text, the imagination rather than the record takes precedence in an attempt to bond the life of the subject with that of the reader." (pp. 190–91). Thus he prefers Ruby Redinger's cyclically organized, speculative psychobiography to the scholarly and factual treatment by Gordon Haight (pp. 113–17). One may note that, except for identifying Auden's biographer as Charles Olson rather than Charles Osborne (p. 106), Nadel's own book seems factually correct.

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Fictionalized biography is not a new thing, however; "The 'freedom' from fact in biographies by Mrs. Kingsley, J. W. Cross or Lytton Strachey, partially defended by Virginia Woolf as 'creative fact', has recently become celebrated by contemporary biographers as a new methodology. However its roots are in how Lockhart, [in his *Life of Scott*] initially, and Forster, repeatedly, (mis)treated fact" (pp. 77–78). This "romantic biography" Nadel describes as "characterized as the commitment to image rather than fact, with imagination more dominant than record" (p. 89). One is left, then, with the paradox that Nadel's new mode of biography is really a version of an old mode, so that the hypothesis that the postmodern Zeitgeist demands fictional biography cannot be sustained.

A second difficulty with Nadel's thesis is that he admits that the dominant mode of biography in the twentieth century has been the factual academic biography he criticizes. "In reaction to those short lives that at times possessed more psychological fancy than unity in the 1920's and 1930's came a return to factual and scholarly biographies which began to dominate life-writing in the 1940s through the 1960s" (p. 66). This is particularly true of literary biographies; "Literary studies have been less adventurous, preferring, still, the security of the conservative, fact-gathering life" (p. 189), and some of the examples he lists are not from the Sixties but the Eighties, like Park Honan's *Matthew Arnold* (1981). Since Nadel offers no examples of any fictionalized biographies that are generally accepted as models, much less widely praised, his ideal seems to be largely irrelevant to the actual course of biographical writing. Further, in the lack of such examples, it is not clear how "authorized fictions" embodying the "relativity of fact" differ from plain and simple errors and untruths, as in the "altered texts, italicized passages, misdated letters, corrected originals" (p. 90) which Forster perpetrated in his *Life of Dickens* to maintain the imaginative conception he was defending. To me, the obsolescence of fact is not proven, nor is the way in which fictional devices can transform fact into a higher truth convincingly illustrated.

When one comes to the sins of the book, there is much to say. Sins of omission abound. In his analysis of collective biography, in Chapter I, he fails to mention Lawrence Stone's classic essay on "Prosopography," (*Daedalus,* 1971) although he cites it in another context later, nor does he ever mention Sir Lewis Namier's seminal work in this field, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929). Wayne Booth's work on *The Rhetoric of Fiction* would have clarified the discussion of types of narration (p. 172 ff.). On John Morley, about whom he says "little has been written" (p. 214, n. 26) he ignores John Gross's lengthy sketch in *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters* (1969), nor does he credit Gross's discussions of Gosse, Stephens et al. However, it might be said in defense that a critic is not obliged to list all possible precursors; perhaps they are only weak fathers unworthy of contest, to allude to the also unmentioned Harold Bloom.

There are some sins of commission, however, that cannot be wished away, most notably the prose. There are a number of errors of the freshman English variety, like dangling modifiers: "Varying in length from the brief, 74-page life of John Hampden, in volume 3, to the two-volume, 798-page life of Cromwell, Forster displays . . ." (p. 78); "Like his biography of Dickens, he has his subject in perspective" (p. 97); "Combined with his directness of opinion—'Portraiture is black and white'—and his determination to be accurate, Stephen and the dictionary set new standards of biographical authority and research" (p. 54). The wrong word is often used: "Focusing of the shaping events [read periods] of George Eliot's imagination, nobably her childhood, ado-

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lescence and young womanhood . . ." (p. 116); "By number of pages, however, Sidney Lee contributed the most articles (820) [read copy]" (p. 57); "Kuhn based his interpretation of the structure of scientific revolution on the notion of paradigms, shared examples [read exemplars]" (p. 104). Repetitions also abound. We are told on the top of p. 53 that the DNB "represents the apex of the Victorian belief in, and commitment to, fact" and on the bottom that "Nowhere is the Victorian devotion to fact better exhibited than in the *Dictionary of National Biography*": that "No flowers by request" was the watchword of the DNB on pp. 52 and 109; that Gaskell's *Life of Bronte* was written at the mid-point of her career on pp. 123 and 129; that Forster's biography is more about himself than Dickens on page 87 and 91. Further, Nadel has a weird habit of relating thinkers and theories not chronologically but in a manner akin to the old finding of stylistic parallels in poetry. "Anticipating Strachey, however, James Boswell earlier relied on metaphor . . ." (p. 164). The *Eikon Basilike,* a biography of Charles I by John Gauden, is described as "reversing the later practice of Thomas Hardy" (p. 185). On Morley he says: "Such qualities best summarize the compositional goals of the English Men of Letters series—in advance of such later biographers as Stephen and Edmund Gosse" (p. 41). Furthermore, these are sometimes flat contradictions on important points. On p. 151 we are told that "What gives biography its impact is not the point of view of the biographer, . . . but the linguistic expression"; in his last sentence he says "Lytton Strachey once remarked that a biographer's equipment should consist of three things—a capacity for absorbing facts, a capacity for stating them and a point of view. I have stressed all three. . . ." (p. 209). On page 176 "biography is essentially a demythologizing form"; on page 182 "Metaphor, in fact, becomes the access of literature to myth." On page 76 Lockhart is a Romantic biographer with "allegiance to the image rather than the facts"; on page 170 he is an example of the "objective/academic" biographer who is detached and respects the facts.

I do not know whether these stylistic habits are supposed to represent the kind of proleptic and circular form, a succession of moments rather than a causal sequence, which Nadel likes in biography (p. 202), but in me such habits induced a sense of vertigo. When such prose is combined with platitudinous thought, the effect is stupefying, and one constantly reads platitudes like "What remains constant is the effort of the biographer to uncover the truth of his subject" (p. 107); or "No biographer merely records a life; every biographer, no matter how objective he declares himself, interprets a life" (p. 154); or, to combine platitude and confusion: "Linking the narrative of the personal life with the analysis of texts in the biography is the re-evaluation of the figure in terms of the life of the author" (p. 121). The impulse of the reader to constantly correct, rewrite, rearrange, or excise the prose of this book made the reading, for me at least, very hard going, much like slogging through deep snow.

In sum, one cannot prefer this book over others that have gone over the same ground, notably John Gross's *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters* and Richard Altick's *Lives and Letters: A History of Literary Biography in America* (1969), which Nadel criticizes in his footnotes. Both these books are clearly organized, well-written, informative. This one is not.

GRANT WEBSTER
State University of New York, Binghamton

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Notes on Contributors

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Stanton Peele is a social psychologist whose major field of investigation is addiction. The overriding concern of his work has been to show that a literate (and a literary) approach to human psychology offers the best leads to the scientific understanding of behavior.

Elizabeth Winston is an Assistant Professor of English and Humanities at Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg, Middletown, PA 17057. Her essay on the autobiographer's relation to her readers appeared in *Women's Autobiography,* Estelle C. Jelinek, editor (Indiana Univ. Press, 1980).

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KAYE FREDERICKS

The Annual *Biography* Evaluative Survey

The Continuing Dialogue: What Makes A Biography Worth Reading?

In 1981, at its first international symposium, "New Directions in Biography," the Biographical Research Center in Honolulu attempted to determine the present and future state of the art of biography. Last year, through the first Annual *Biography* Evaluative Survey (see 8:4), we concentrated on one facet of the state of the art by asking subscribers, contributors, and reviewers to name examples of the best and worst biographical works which had been published during the previous calendar year.

The survey to judge biographies was distributed last May with two changes. First, the categories were changed from "best" to "most rewarding to read," and from "worst" to "most flawed, inaccurate, or negatively controversial." Second, because we wanted to begin a serious dialogue that could lead to further initiatives, respondents were asked *why* they answered as they did. Perhaps similar to Blake's "Little Lamb, who made thee?", the question is provocatively and intricately simple: Reader, what makes a biography good?

One of our concerns was to avoid distortion. We wanted the questions to be open-ended enough to give respondents freedom to go in any direction—and we have quoted the responses with a minimum of editing. To allow for open discussion, we have quoted without attribution and, instead, listed the names of the contributors at the end.

Of the 284 people polled, 21 people responded to the second Annual *Biography* Evaluative Survey. They listed 21 biographies as being rewarding to read and 11 as being flawed in some way. One book was rated as both rewarding and unrewarding to read. Also, six people

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commented on the survey itself but did not list specific biographies. Though not everyone appears willing to be up at dawn to sample the Beaujolais Nouveau, the following is a record of what our respondents had to say.

1985 Biographies Listed as the Most Rewarding to Read

Ackroyd, Peter. *T. S. Eliot.* London: Faber, 1985. (Listed also in the least rewarding to read category.)

Baker, Michael. *Our Three Selves: The Life of Radclyffe Hall.* New York: Morrow, 1985.

"A well-researched and thoughtfully presented account of Radclyffe Hall's private life and literary career. Absorbing without being sensational, and rather surprising in its discussion of RH's mainstream literary success before the notoriety occasioned by *The Well of Loneliness.*"

Barbera, Jack and McBrien, William. *Stevie: A Biography of Stevie Smith.* London: Heinemann, 1985.

Blumenson, Martin. *Patton: The Man Behind the Legend, 1885–1945.* New York: Morrow, 1985.

"A truthful biography of an American general. Refers to Patton's plan to intern Japanese in Hawaii, which was first published in *Biography,* Vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 1–50."

Bynum, W. F. and Porter, Roy, editors. *William Hunter and the Eighteenth Century Medical World.* Cambridge University Press, 1985.

"Gives a vivid picture of the life of an 18th-Century physician, obstetrician, medical educator, and man of culture against the backdrop of the culture of his time. A medical biography which can be read by physicians and laity."

Chambers, Jack. *Milestones 1: The Music and Times of Miles Davis to 1960.* New York: Beech Tree Books/William Morrow, 1985.

Milestones 2: The Music and Times of Miles Davis Since 1960. New York: Beech Tree Books/William Morrow, 1985.

"The most perceptive and detailed biography yet of the most significant and elusive improvising musician of our time, Miles Davis."

Duby, Georges. *William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry.* New York: Pantheon, 1985. [About the Earl of Pembroke, 1144–1219.]

"Brilliant teasing out of sound (and subtle) biographical information: a master at work."

Edel, Leon. *Henry James: A Life.* New York: Harper and Row, 1985. (Listed 3 times.)

"This is the only current biography I have read (have immersed myself in past autobiographies) and it is superb. The most striking feature of this work is not the scholarship (which is first-rate), not his understanding of Henry James (which is subtle and deep), but his grasp of settings and characters that composed the context

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of James' development as a person and novelist. Such a rich and integrated presentation of context seems particularly apt for his main character who viewed life as a spectacle and himself as a receptive web of expanding consciousness, who transformed life into revelation."

* * *

Comment two:
"This one-volume life of Henry James is a blessing for those of us who simply could not undertake to read his original 5-volume life. It may seem to be a contradiction of my comments on the Mack biography of Pope, but there are limits—no doubt different for various readers—to what Paul Kendall called "behemoth" biographies. Never having been an enthusiast for Henry James, I nevertheless found Leon Edel's biography a great read."

Hilton, Tim. *John Ruskin: The Early Years, 1819–1859.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. (Listed 2 times.)

"I look forward to the next volume."

Holmes, Richard. *Footsteps: Adventures of a Romantic Biographer.* New York: Viking, 1985.

"*Footsteps* by the British biographer of Shelley, a series of biographical essays on Stevenson, Mary Wollstonecraft, Shelley in Italy and Gerard de Nerval was by far the most important and imaginative biography I read during 1985. It is particularly important for the charm and evocative spirit which Richard Holmes shows in following the footsteps of his personages. A major addition to the biographical shelf, especially important also for the biographer and his or her 'sense of place.' "

Huntford, Roland. *Shackleton.* New York: Atheneum, 1986 and London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985.

"A wonderful book—painstakingly researched and documented, but also immensely readable. The kind of book that truly makes you say that fact is more incredible than fiction. More than 700 pages—but I could have read 700 more."

James, D. Clayton. *The Years of MacArthur: Triumph and Disaster, 1945–1964,* Vol. III. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985.

"A biography which is devoted to searching out the truth, wherever it may lead, and which sets straight the numerous MacArthur myths and legends. Notable for its account of MacArthur's rule in Japan, and the reasons for his dismissal in Korea."

Mack, Maynard. *Alexander Pope: A Life.* New Haven, New York, and London: Yale University Press, in association with W. W. Norton, 1985. (Listed 2 times.)

"One of the best biographies of modern times. This culmination of Professor Mack's years of productive scholarly work on Pope has been long anticipated and is, as well, the culmination of 20th century universal scholarship on Pope. This book speaks clearly to our own age through Professor Mack's keen, intelligent observations. At long last we have *the definitive life* of one of English literature's greatest poets recounted in a lucid and appealing style. It ranks with Walter Jackson Bate's *Johnson* and has been even more needed than that fine biography. It is

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evidence, once again, that the return to thoroughly long biographies is, pace Strachey, a rewarding outcome of the methods of meticulous scholarly research."

* * *

Comment two:
"This, the definitive biography of the greatest poet of eighteenth century England, is most notable for the literary intelligence with which Mack reads Pope's poetry in the context of his life. The writing is fresh, allusive and at its best dazzling, a study worthy of its subject."

Mantle, Mickey with Herb Gluck. *The Mick.* New York: Doubleday, 1985.
"Nicely put together, clearly written popular biography of a folk hero."

Martin, Robert Bernard. *With Friends Possessed: A Life of Edward FitzGerald.* New York: Atheneum, 1985.

McClure, Grace. *The Bassett Woman.* Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985.
"Careful, clear, sensible, well-documented regional history and biography, by a non-academic historian who writes well and knows how to dig for and to sift information."

Meyers, Jeffry. *Hemingway: A Biography.* New York: Harper & Row, 1985.

Newhouse, David. *Heisman, After the Glory.* St. Louis: The Sporting News, 1985.
"Somewhat superficial but nonetheless engaging. Newhouse charts the lives of all Heisman Award winners after the cheering stopped."

Pimlott, Ben. *Hugh Dalton.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1985.
"An exemplary work."

Sagar, Keith M. *D. H. Lawrence: Life into Art.* Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1985.
"This is probably the most objective and painstaking biography of Lawrence ever to be published. It's a good thing someone has finally done this. Keith Sagar is one of very few writers who gives reliable accounts about his subjects."

Whelan, Richard. *Robert Capa: A Biography.* New York: Knopf, 1985.
"A very realistic depiction—without undue psychologising—of a man who invented his name, fabricated episodes in his biography, was unable to form stable relations with his many women lovers (although he was much liked by women), and who was also the greatest war photographer of his time. Accurately recounts the history of many of his photos."

1985 Biographies Listed as the Least Rewarding to Read

Ackroyd, Peter. *T. S. Eliot.* London: Faber, 1985. (Listed also in the most rewarding to read category.)

Djilas, Milovan. *Rise and Fall.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985.

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"Starts off with a good account of 1945–46 Yugoslavia, but is then very meagre and disappointing in its account of Djilas' 1956 open break with Tito and his ostracism and imprisonment. Suffers by comparison with Djilas' three preceding volumes of autobiography, which are one of the great contemporary autobiographies."

Gallager, Hugh Gregory. *FDR's Splendid Deception.* New York: Dodd Mead, 1985.

"Although it contains many useful facts and anecdotes about Roosevelt's paralysis—and the means used to conceal it from the public—it is very shallow and disappointing in its account of Roosevelt's psychological reactions to his paralysis. At this point in Roosevelt biographies a deeper psychological study of his defenses is needed."

Griffin, Peter. *Along with Youth: Hemingway, the Early Years.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

"Superficial, simple-minded and filled with errors. The 5 early Hemingway stories, tastelessly included in his own text, disprove his thesis that Hemingway formed his early style before reaching Paris in 1921."

Hastings, Selina. *Nancy Mitford: A Biography.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985.

"Amusing anecdotes but failed to probe into the subject's unhappiness. Entirely undocumented."

Manso, Peter. *Mailer: His Life and Times.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985.

"Flawed as 'oral biography.' "

Ormrod, Richard. *Una Troubridge: The Friend of Radclyffe Hall.* New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1985.

"An overwritten, overwrought account of Radclyffe Hall's companion. A good (i.e., bad) example of how a biographer may attempt to invest a minor subject with a significance she didn't have. Ormrod uses exclamation points like cattle prods."

Rader, Dotson. *Tennessee: Cry of the Heart.* New York: Doubleday, 1985. (Listed 2 times.)

"Unspeakably vulgar."

* * *

Comment two:

"Perhaps a memoir, not a biography, but whatever it is, it is a bad book."

Swearingen, Ben E. *The Mystery of Hermann Goering's Suicide.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1985.

"Suggests how Goering was able to obtain poison, and pinpoints the American officer who gave it to him, but is very weak on its portrait of Goering, his motives for suicide, and how he was able to manipulate the Americans around him."

Wilhelm, James J. *The American Roots of Ezra Pound.* New York: Garland, 1985.

"A pretentious, fumbling, portentous waste of time."

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Wilkinson, Alec. *Moonshine: A Life in Pursuit of White Liquor.* New York: Knopf, 1985.

"A slick, *New Yorker*-style treatment of a revenue officer's life; trivialized biography in super-subtle, boring prose."

Additions to Last Year's Survey of 1984 Biographies

Two respondents cited biographies published in 1984, one in each of the two categories.

De-la-Noy, Michael. *Denton Welch: The Making of a Writer.* New York: Viking, 1984.

"I just caught up with this fine biography, an account of a famous invert which captures the fascination and attractiveness of his character while accentuating pecularities. Altogether a remarkable book . . . gripping."

Fuller, Torrey E. *The Roots of Treason: Ezra Pound and the Secret of St. Elizabeth.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984.

"Shows no understanding of Ezra Pound; is full of subtle distortions, mainly for journalistic reasons."

Comments on the Survey Itself

"I believe it would be useful to send out a list of biographies, memoirs, journals . . . published in 1985 and have us rank order them. . . . This would give a more systematic way of assessing the meaningfulness of the evaluations."

* * *

"I was frustrated with this survey last year, and have the same reaction again. Surely you must have been depressed by the relatively small number of replies that you received.

"I think the approach you take in the survey is flawed. Most of us do not read biographies published in 1985 in the year 1985, or even in 1986. If we are teachers of biography, as I am, we do not wish to read a Library copy, because we want to mark it up.

"We choose biographies to read usually after reading several book reviews. . . . By the time these have been read, a year or two may have passed.

"Given the high cost of new books, many of us wait for a cheaper paperback edition, or, five to ten years later, the unloading of books at very low prices by the mail-order houses.

"Thus . . . I have nothing to contribute to your survey, and feel absolutely no sense of shame

"I think you would get a richer response to your survey if you [asked us to name biographies] published in the last five or ten years.

"Just trying to help."

* * *

"Most of my reading seems to be about a year after the book has been published. . . . Even so, I am glad to be able to respond (to the survey).

"First, I would like to endorse the view expressed of Ann Thwaite's *Edmund Gosse, A Literary Landscape*, and Peter Ackroyd's *T. S. Eliot*. They are both works of fine scholarship, well balanced, and eminently readable.

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"There is no space in the survey to list critical works on the genre of biography and autobiography. . . . Certainly I would want to mention B. Finney, *The Inner I: English Literary Autobiography of the Twentieth Century,* published by Faber in 1985, a lively work describing not only some major approaches to the task of writing autobiography, but providing a useful insight into the general problems of first person writing."

* * *

"Sorry. I've been reading 'golden oldies' this year. There's an idea: best biography of last 5/10/25 years."

* * *

"Would I could respond to your survey, but I never read biographies right away. I am usually three or four years late. For example I just completed Elledge's *E. B. White,* which I liked a lot. It strikes me that with the exception of Hollywood star stuff and political ghost written biographies and the like that a good biography isn't part of the best seller list. . . . A biography is something one gets around to.

"Something which interests me is the tie between biography and autobiography. . . . Get someone to write a readable essay on the subject. Not an essay clogged with jargon, but a readable essay."

* * *

"This survey is a great idea!"

* * *

". . . I cannot list poor biographies here, because if I dip into one, I drop it quickly, and therefore am not really in a position to pass fair judgment on it. Obviously we all choose lives in which we have already some interest, unless we are doing a professional review or perhaps reading a book recommended by a friend."

* * *

"I beg your indulgence on account of the lateness of my reply. I recently returned from a lengthy research trip. . . . I must report that I did not read any biographies at all during 1985."

RESPONDENTS

Anonymous (3 responses)
D. C. A. Bradshaw
Barbara B. Brown
Larry Cochran
Ralph Colp, Jr.
Leon Edel
Robert Folkenflik
Benjamin Franklin V
Mrs. E. Laurence Gay
Thomas Mallon
A. P. McIntyre
Freeman W. Meyer
Jeffrey Meyers
Samuel Pickering, Jr.
Burton Raffel
Craig Simpson
Nancy Vogel
Donald J. Winslow
Anne M. Wyatt-Brown

HONOLULU, HAWAII

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Steven Weiland

Jefferson and Erikson, Politics and the Life Cycle

I

As a form of inquiry and as a therapy psychoanalysis is guided by a system of rules and restraints which to some critics now conceal its radical and inclusive origins. Yet at the same time psychoanalysis is criticized, often justifiably, for its freewheeling applications to other fields. Freud's own career is a sign of the problem, originating as it did in literary and historical interests then moving to the laboratory rigors of neurophysiology, then to the hybrid art and science of psychoanalysis, and culminating in an unsystematic but ambitious program of cultural and political criticism. Mindful of the consequences of psychoanalytic applications Freud was, however, resentful of what he took to be unrealistic standards of justification for a new discipline, one of whose strengths was its position at the boundaries of several of the old ones.

Psychoanalysis was for Freud a clinical science bound by canons of evidence and inference to be sure but also responsible for expanding its interests in accordance with the competence of its practitioners. His confidence was tempered by his own experience, which showed him what scholars in all disciplines know, that the results of inquiry are always incomplete. One group of partial answers both complements and competes with other groups; influential work often merely reformulates the essential questions. Hence when he resumed his *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* in 1932 (the original set had appeared fifteen years before) Freud noted the desirability, when writing for a

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non-professional audience, of being frank about methodological problems, gaps in evidence and uncertainties in application. But since he was also painfully aware that psychoanalysis now had a history of its own which could be compared to the aspirations and achievements of other fields he added ruefully:

> In no other field of scientific work would it be necessary to boast of such modest intentions. They are universally regarded as self-evident; the public expects nothing else. No reader of an account of astronomy will feel disappointed and contemptuous of the science if he is shown the frontiers at which our knowledge of the universe melts into haziness. Only in psychology is it otherwise. There mankind's constitutional unfitness for scientific research comes fully into the open. What people seem to demand of psychology is not progress in knowledge, but satisfaction of some sort; every unsolved problem, every admitted uncertainty is made a reproach against it.[1]

The candor of his lecture presentations was one response and by devoting the last of them to the reasons for subordinating the development of a unique and self-justifying psychoanalytic "weltenschaung" to the general aims and habits of scientific scholarship, Freud also sought to balance tradition and innovation.

In his last decade Freud was not only reformulating and extending his theories but also shaping an agenda for his followers although, of course, there has been considerable controversy about what exactly constitutes the Freudian legacy. Those who have followed Freud, including strictly speaking Freud's followers, have stressed one or another of the essential components of classical psychoanalysis in order to refine the theory and to fortify practice. Few have been as successful in doing so as Erik H. Erikson, an analyst of impeccable Freudian credentials—he was trained by Anna Freud—but also of considerable influence outside the profession because he has made of his intellectual inheritance a clinical and scholarly program of great reach and timeliness. Erikson was near graduation from the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society when Freud published his *New Introductory Lectures*, as he was a part also of the first audience for *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), *Civilization and its Discontents* (1929), and Freud's other late work on social themes. And he was one of the first specialists in child analysis, yet another area in which Freud's original insights were deepened by clinicians and scholars determined to work within and beyond Freudian guidelines. Always impressed with Freud's general erudition, Erikson capitalized on what amounted to a comprehensive

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psychiatric university in Vienna to learn from a great variety of colleagues and teachers who were themselves about to assimilate to psychoanalysis many new themes, especially the social origins and consequences of neurosis, and the role of the ego in orthodox and revised Freudianism.

The innovations for which Erikson has become known derive from the circumstances of his training and then his emigration in 1933 to the United States, where he found opportunities for clinical work, collegueship in the humanities and the social sciences, and for teaching at Yale, Berkeley and Harvard. One result was the publication in 1950 of *Childhood and Society* in which he presented for the first time his epigenetic theory of human development in the form of the now familiar diagram of the eight stages of life. *Childhood and Society* also contained influential demonstrations of the relations of psychoanalysis to anthropology, biography and the study of national character. The portraits of Hitler and Gorky served the last two goals and were Erikson's first efforts in psychohistory, a field often identified, whatever his own misgivings, as originating in his work.

Erikson's first book, published when he was nearing fifty, also had its political dimension, stressing as it did the comparative development of national characters and their recent and future international relations in World War II and the intensifying Cold War. And even in the presentation of the individual and intergenerational meanings of ego psychology early readers detected a new psychoanalytic politics. Daniel Bell found Erikson's portrait of the American family and its presentation of the conciliatory character of American politics evidence for the "end of ideology" and the making of social consensus, stable if complacent, in the postwar era.[2] As Erikson's influence spread, however, some critics found that his apparent meliorism and optimism were impediments in political applications of psychoanalysis. In the meantime his interest in politics found expression in biographical studies of religious leadership. And certainly with *Young Man Luther* (1958) and *Gandhi's Truth* (1969) Erikson has provided not only satisfying demonstrations of the uses of psychoanalysis in biography but also enough insight into the methodological opportunities and limits of the form to fulfill Freud's demand for mere "progress in knowledge" instead of complete satisfaction.

Psychohistory and psychoanalytic biography, including Erikson's contributions, have produced a substantial primary and secondary literature.[3] Emphasis in the latter has been on the vexing matter of evidence and justification for inference. Hence the discussions often

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resemble those concerning psychoanalysis proper where verification vies with plausibility, and scientific rigor with rhetorical skill. Erikson's two major and several briefer biographies at one time or another aspire to each trait but in his most recent theoretical summary he proposes that the purposes of *Dimensions of a New Identity* (1974), his study of Jefferson, belie its brevity and haphazard organization. It was, he says, a sketch for a style of cultural history which "can show how all the details of individual development dovetail with or come to diverge from the grand schemes suggested in the existential cycles of religious belief systems, in the historical postulates of political and economic ideologies, and in the experimental implications of scientific theories."[4] Erikson would be the first to admit that *Dimensions of a New Identity* is also an example of the occasional but inevitable "haziness" Freud found in work at intellectual frontiers. Erikson's encounter with Jefferson is instructive if not perhaps exemplary. What can be learned about Jefferson from the text must be related to what can be learned about its intended readers and its author as they are bound in a particular life cycle and national history.

II

Only the barest chronology of Jefferson's life is discernible in *Dimensions of a New Identity,* a biography in the form of a series of commentaries on Jeffersonian themes. In a brief prelude Erikson acknowledges the hazards of scholarship on Jefferson, an enigmatic subject whose historical image has not been completely clarified as it has been amplified. Erikson's contribution will reflect, he says, not only his professional interests but his personal history as an immigrant American. Though he claims only a student's understanding of American history he has, as compensation, a classical European education which has prepared him to appreciate Jefferson's own transplantation of classical ideas and ideals to the new world. Speaking also as a psychoanalyst, however, whose impact on history and other disciplines was well known by 1973, Erikson disassociates himself from much of the work done in the name of psychohistory which he defines here simply as "the study of individual and collective life with the combined methods of psychoanalysis and history" (13).[5] Practitioners, he insists, must understand the difference between a case history and a life history. The first is clinical in origins and intentions; it is diagnostic and therapeutic as it tries to account for what has gone wrong with an individual and how a therapy can be prescribed. The subject of a life history may also suffer from a chronic neurotic conflict but interest in her or him is

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more than clinical and less than therapeutic. We want to know what gave the life unity, purpose, direction and a function in the lives of others. "The life history of a historical figure must take account, above all, of how his life hung together even as he also kept a section of his world together. His person, then, in all its uniqueness and yet also in its conflictedness and failures must be seen, for better or worse, as prototypical for his time and as fulfilling specific needs in the lives of those who followed him" (14). That is also a capsule account of the form of *Dimensions of a New Identity.*

But psychohistory is not only a matter of intentions and forms. Its origins in the clinical practice of psychoanalysis has methodological consequences which are equally significant. For the analyst is trained to understand his own unconscious motives (and problems) as he analyses others. Yet how this consulting room responsibility is incorporated into historical (and psychohistorical) scholarship is difficult to agree about given the uneven distribution of interests and qualifications among both historians and analysts. "The lawfulness we seek in studying the life history of a historical person must at the same time clarify his personal aims in terms of those of his time, and relate both him and his times to the psychohistorians' values." The distinctively interactive style of psychoanalytic training and writing—the writer speaking to and for himself as well as to an audience and for the historical record—is for Erikson the point from which psychohistorical work begins. And good historians, he acknowledges, have always been aware of their place in history. "For history is not only the record of the interactions between leaders and led which bring about lasting changes in political power and in the power of ideas. It is also a record of how historical concepts influence as well as reflect both the writing and the making of history" (15). As he himself admits Erikson has only an elementary knowledge of Jefferson's life but it is not its chronological unfolding which interests him. Instead, he selects a few representative biographical themes and weaves into them some of his own. Jefferson's life history is presented as a part of the history of the founding of the nation and also as part of the history of subsequent generations, especially the most recent ones, and of developmental theory including Erikson's own contributions.

A close reading of *Notes on the State of Virginia,* written in 1787 when Jefferson was thirty-eight, is evidence enough for Erikson of the contrasting images in his identity formation. He was an amateur naturalist, surveyor, ideologue, educator, inventor and designer. Yet Jefferson's talents were always threatened by "personal idiosyncracies of

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tenatious depth." Erikson is referring to Jefferson's frequently cited remarks in the *Notes* on white superiority which represent in the psychoanalyst's generous view an unresolvable psychosocial conflict. Erikson's goal is to avoid easy moralism and to concentrate instead on Jefferson's apparent ambivalences and honest regard for the relation of national ideals and inherited social roles. He quotes with pleasure a letter from Jefferson to his grandson: "Many a time have I asked myself in the enthusiastic moments of the death of a fox, the victory of a favorite horse, the issue of a question eloquently argued at the bar, or in the great council of the nation—well, which of these kinds of reputation should I prefer . . . Be assured that these little returns into ourselves, this self-catechising habit, is not trifling nor useless, but leads to the prudent selection and steady pursuit of what is right" (20). Since he was a slaveholder who warned against miscegenation and even tentatively advocated colonization of blacks Jefferson has invited from his biographers ideological condemnation, scientific ridicule and psychiatric diagnosis. Yet it is the responsibility of psychohistory, according to Erikson, to bind the subject and the scholar in mutual relations with even the most difficult of themes, in this case racial difference and the fate of slavery in America.

First Erikson specifies Jefferson's circumstances: "For who, so Jefferson rightly implies, could write a book on these issues without trapping himself in conflicting feelings and, if he were honest, in abhorred convictions, even if he could manage to sound ever so pure ideologically." Then he suggests that Jefferson's problem is his *and* ours since the matter of racial conflict has not been solved by either ideological struggle or revolution. From Jefferson's ambivalence Erikson salvages admiration for his grasp of an ancient problem which is amenable only to "each observor's self-awareness in a changing and ideological climate" (26). In Jefferson's beliefs and historical circumstances there is evidence of one of Erikson's favorite ideas: "pseudo-speciation" or the illusion of racial or national superiority. As a form of nationalism Jefferson's racism is found to be a product of his time and not merely his personal ethics in which he struggled to find opportunities to make at least some of his slaves independent. In any case, by offering the example of Jefferson, the relation of his life history to ours, Erikson is able to transform this 18th century version of "pseudo-speciation" into an episode in the developmental history of Americans and their international relations. In a passage where apologetics nearly displace historical analysis Erikson proposes the basis from which he will recover Jefferson's portion in the creation of an American identity:

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> The worst in us is intimately related to the best, and the most atavistic to the renewal of mankind's search for a more universal identity. And even as we find what we would nowadays call a rationalized racism in the world image of Jefferson's time, and a practical as well as intellectual racism in his own writings, it is more important to gain powerful insight into our common evolutionary and developmental corruptability than an easy moral superiority over our dead heroes. The process of pseudo-speciation which has blurred the borderlines between reality and illusion and set man against man in the name of commitments to the death has also produced those more universal civilizations and, with them, the networks of communication on which a wider human consciousness will depend (32).

America's potentials as a civilization, at least as they are suggested here represent a "historical miracle" to which Jefferson contributed the moral rationale, the assertion that the need for a newer and wider national identity was indeed, as the Declaration of Independence states, "self-evident."

III

The novel and multiple identities of Jefferson's *Notes* constitute what Erikson calls the "View from Monticello" which predates his presidency but anticipates its historical legacy, including the subordination of facts (Jefferson as surveyor and inventor) to the presentation of other identity elements (Jefferson as biblical scholar and believer). Erikson is impressed, as have been all of Jefferson's biographers, with his self-consciousness in managing many roles and their relation to the sequence of tasks necessary for national and personal identity building. In a passage in the letter to his grandson which Erikson does not quote Jefferson says "conviction is the effect of our own dispassionate reasoning, either in solitude, or weighing within ourselves, dispassionately, what we hear from others, standing uncommitted in argument ourselves."[6]

There is indeed enough conviction in Jefferson's religious views for Erikson to make them the virtual centerpiece of his account of Jefferson's politics. His was a private and ethical Christianity: "I am a Christian," he said, "in the only sense in which [Jesus] wished anyone to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence; and believing that he never claimed any other (40)." Erikson finds a considerable role for Jefferson's faith, intensified as it was during his terms as President when he undertook the first of two related and unusual editorial reconstruc-

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tions of the Gospels. It was the Christian moral code which appealed to Jefferson and his own codification of the Christian essentials signified as well as their social uses. For he understood that "human communities, whether they consist of a tribe set in a segment of nature, or of a national empire spanning the territory and the loyalties of a variety of people, must attempt to reinforce that sense of identity which promises a meaning for the cycle of life within a worldview more real than the certainty of death (42)." Yet it was not inevitable for Jefferson that meaning of this kind was to be religious. He made the center hold not through public displays of faith but through personal example and national policy. It was what he did, not only what he believed. Erikson borrows a line from Gandhi to describe the Jefferson whose Gospels were also a hobby: "God appears to you only in action."

It turns out that Jefferson's efforts also mean something in the history of psychoanalysis and Erikson's attempts to demonstrate the uses of faith in the most secular of modern professions. Indeed, speaking historically, each is a condition of the other; faith can guide psychoanalysis as it did Jefferson's presidential politics. "The biblical division of human duties allocated to Caesar and God make the basic point that without a physical existence in an earthly regime there can be no defined self as a seat for an I in search of transcendance and no social order to support or to complement a religious domain. And it appears to have been the interplay between empires and world religions which in past history has worked toward a unified identity on earth (43)."[7] In Jefferson's case Erikson hoped for the best, that it was his devotion to the classical sense of balance that made him attempt to reconcile the post-revolutionary and religious identities in order to produce the nascent American identity. Editing the Gospels, therefore, was a secret scholarly enterprise because there was in Jefferson a deep conflict in which his taste for privacy battled his pleasure in political accomplishment. But Erikson, who appears to regret Jefferson's diffidence, is honest enough to admit that radical religionists will find his version of the Gospels a "pragmatic compromise with an economic ideal [rather] than an existential commitment (44)." Jefferson felt his own commitments to be dispassionate and never too far removed from the pro and con arguments from which they derived.

The Perspective of the Mount, as this key section of *Dimensions of a New Identity* is named, is, therefore, at least as much Erikson's as it is Jefferson's. It is the point of view from which his own nationalistic political ideals, which he shares with his subject, can be joined to his professional identity. "Faith in action demanded," he says of Jeffer-

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son's time and of his own, "an intrinsic unity of divine and historical design (47)." Faith, however, is not the only issue. Another is what might be called religious technique. For what Erikson regrets is the omission in Jefferson's Gospels of references to Jesus' healing mission. To compensate modern readers Erikson offers his own version of "the decisive therapeutic event in the Gospels," a sign that Christianity is part of the history, including psychoanalysis, of healing. In this story from Luke a woman has bled for twelve years and lost all of her money on ineffective doctors.

> When she had heard of Jesus, [the woman] came in the press behind, and touched his garment.
>
> For she said, "If I may touch but his clothes, I shall be whole."
>
> And straightaway the fountain of her blood was dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of that plague.
>
> And Jesus immediately knowing in himself that virtue had gone out of him, turned him about in the press, and said, "Who touched my clothes?"
>
> And his disciples said unto him, "Thou seest the multitude thronging thee, and sayest thou, Who touched me?"
>
> And he looked round about to see her that had done this thing.
>
> But the woman fearing and trembling, knowing what was done in her, came and fell down before him, and told him all the truth.
>
> And he said unto her, "Daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole; go in peace, and be whole of thy plague."

The woman is restored by her faith in the healer's mission and so the psychoanalytic tradition is made to include exalted illustrations in the Gospels of its dynamic clinical situation. Jefferson's interest in faith, Erikson reminds us, came at the height of his career as a statesman. As part of his mature political identity Jefferson was able to put aside his distaste for institutional religion in favor of devotion to the precepts of Jesus himself.

The limits of Jefferson's piety also allow its incorporation into the several identities making up what Erikson calls his "protean personality." He resisted the specialization of any one and instead achieved an enviable alteration of occupations: farmer and architect, statesman and scholar. His own convictions and his grasp of the public and private opportunities in each permitted Jefferson to combine seemingly contradictory modes of action. Moreover, Jefferson's "grandeur" originated in his realization of his obligations with a finely tuned combination of effusiveness and reserve. The Jefferson "facade" said to have concealed conviction prompts Erikson to note that "The analysis of how a

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person comes to choose such a public image even though he himself may at times react diffidently to it, may begin with the call emanating from the historical situation. Jefferson's times demanded some self-aggrandisement in the service of the new, almost instant ancestral past which American history had to create. An essential tool for psychohistory, therefore, is historical relativism. But faced with a protean personality like Jefferson, Erikson concedes that "The whole ecology of greatness transcends many of the assumptions which clinical work has suggested regarding the inner economy of a person (55)." Accordingly Erikson minimizes the matter of Jefferson's love life. Yet it is still a theme whose significance in recent biography is a reflection of historical relativity, since in our time sexuality has been recognized as a function of personal style. The uncertainty of the evidence, and perhaps Jefferson's piety, makes Erikson cautious but just in case "regressive trends" in Jefferson are ever proven he notes that fatherhood (as in Founding Father) was Jefferson's historical role as well as perhaps his interracial domestic choice.

IV

Biographical interpretation of Jefferson needs psychohistory precisely because of his stature and complexity. He is both unique and prototypical, embodying the aspirations of the new nation, and its enduring conflicts and their potential reconciliation. Hence the task for his biographers resembles the clinical goals of ego psychology which rely on relating the stages of life to experience and national history. Jefferson is a remote but timely therapeutic model, displaying in a political career the forms of synthesis potential in the ego. "As it matures through the constant interaction of maturational forces and environmental influences, a certain duality develops between higher levels of integration, which permits a greater tolerance of tension and diversity, and lower level of order where totalities and conformities must help to preserve a sense of security."[8] The synthesis is in Jefferson's own life cycle and in those whom he influenced in the making of laws and social institutions. It is precisely the durability of the Jeffersonian model, or in other words the impact of his biographers, that is a question in Erikson's life cycle and those *he* is seeking to influence. "To have the courage of one's diversity is a sign of wholeness in individuals and in civilization. But wholeness, too, must have defined boundaries. In the present state of our civilization, it is not yet possible to foresee whether or not a more universal identity promises to embrace all the diversities and dissonances, relativities and mortal dangers which

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emerge with technological and scientific progress."[9] For this reason the subject of *Dimensions of a New Identity* is not only Jefferson but his political inheritors, Erikson and his readers.

The name Erikson gives to this historical bond is the "ontogeny of conscience in the generational succession of life cycles (66)." But since he defines it as a political process as well as a psychological one, Erikson has no illusions about his own competence to explain it. "For it must be clear," he says, "that in the vast complexity of political life, often the most basic images and emotions of the utmost simplicity carry the day (76)." It is within this self-imposed limit—and despite the abuses of simplicity we all complain about in media-dominated electoral politics—that Erikson offers some rudimentary insights into the making of political Americans, especially those coming of age during the late 1960s and early 1970s and those like himself helping them to do so. Chief among the basic images is the life history of Jefferson, emblematic as it is of American premises and promises. A second fundamental for thinking at all about history and politics is "the fact that will always keep and bring us closer together. . . . the nakedness and helplessness of the newborn human child (87)." This simple, even sentimental image, when set against the turmoil of political life in our own or indeed in any other time including Jefferson's, is the opening Erikson needs to make a place for developmental theory in practical politics. For that he supplies another simple if not so sentimental image. It is the ancient polis which represents the human capacity to "build and imagine communities which not only take care of the necessities of daily life but also can have an exquisite style maintaining, at its best, a creative interplay with man's inner life (94)." The collective or fraternal life of the polis provides meaning for individuals through heroic ideals and the public confrontation of illegality and justice.

But the dignity of this ancient image, however simple, and the innocence of the newborn, have their negative counterparts in the conflicts and injustices which make up actual political life. Accordingly the ontogeny of conscience must be accompanied by a grasp of how the unconscious is a resource for collective life, what motivates and modifies individual political choices and what guides collective actions. "To put it bluntly," Erikson says, "what we must vigilantly pursue is the relationship of man's deals with his archaic inner life and those political deals which mark the system of privileges and duties in his expanding world (82)." It will be the task of the ego, as an instrument of mediation, to shape relations of the inner and outer worlds—to help them to

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adapt and adjust to each other. Mindful that pride in these functions or "deals" can make the ego corruptible—in individual forms of grandiosity and institutional cases of illegality—Erikson prefers finally a benign image of the ego's role in politics: "To engage in interplay, to give and to gain leeway, to increase the sum of mutual good will and insight (93)." A psychology of politics would explore the affinities between the two kinds of deals.

The uses of Jefferson's image, even in the simple terms in which it appears in Erikson's text, are plain. Reminding his audience of recent events just outside the auditorium in which he is speaking—the Watergate hearings were about to begin—Erikson asserts that "rarely have we been so aware of the pervasive power of atavistic strivings, and of how the man out front, the erstwhile warrior and hunter, has perpetuated himself not only in war but also in business as well as in politics (95)."[10] So too has "domination" in the professions disrupted the ontogeny of conscience and put pressure on inter-generational relations. We profit then, from Jefferson's belief in a moral core in men and women—and perhaps most important in youth—which can be activated as a developmental and then social principle.

To make this point Erikson turns to an incident in Jefferson's relations with his daughter. As a teenage student in France, where her father had gone as United States ambassador, she complained of inability to sustain her interest in the Latin classics. Jefferson wrote to Martha: "It is part of the American character to consider nothing as desparate; to surmount every difficulty by resolution and contrivance. Remote from all other aid, we are obliged to invent and to execute; to find means within ourselves and not lean on others. . . . No laborious person was yet hysterical." Erikson admires the moralistic tone here, its patriotic flavor, and also Jefferson's sympathy (expressed in another letter) for her rebelliousness. In other words, Jefferson's parental habits derive from his confidence in the education of the will to make rational and ethical choices. He denotes the developmental truth which for Erikson is part of our increasing knowledge of historical differences in childhood and family relations. "One may be more impressed with the chaotic and regressive or committed and forward looking, the withdrawn and dreaming, or passionate and competent stance of adolescence. But it is at this stage and in the confluence of the internalized reality with the political world, that childhood ideals attach themselves to patterns of work and to ideological verities embodied in forms of collaboration and leadership. Thus it will be decided whether or not the individual will have a chance to transform

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what is left of his infantile guilt and rage into communal activity of lasting value to him and others (96)."

V

Within these careful antitheses, however, is some urgency in the developmental cycle of young Americans living, like Erikson, in a period of political turmoil. Can they marshal, he wonders, what is original or potential in their versions of American identity? "Nothing less is at stake now than the inner liberation necessary to plan the global politics of a technology shared by one species (100)." More than historical models like Jefferson are needed to achieve this, however, since the best of the next generation faces opposition from those relying on "reactionary possession of priviledged interests and organizational powers (104)." Yet paradoxically Erikson asks that traditional partisan politics be suspended in favor of actions which above all require collaboration and balance. Hence whatever the excesses that produced the war in Vietnam and the Watergate scandal, those in the forefront of political renewal—the young, women and black Americans—must also be accountable to the original standards of ego psychology. "A worldwide new identity will have to liberate itself from the variety of revolutionary patterns by which liberties were first secured, and from their moralistic fervor, puritan or radical (114)." While he accepts the role of rage in protest, Erikson insists also on the mutuality of benefits in a society as divided as United States in the early 1970s. The essence of politics, which determine our relations with those just entering the life cycle and with those with some experience of the polis, is the spirit of reciprocity. It abets relations between old world and new, one generation and another, or opponents in clashes of public policies. "The chance for true liberation," Erikson says, "occurs when both sides need it (119)."[11]

A benevolent politics of this kind can be traced to Jefferson's faith and family relations as well as to his proposal that the new nation be based, as stated in its primary document, on the "pursuit of happiness." So Erikson recalls the seemingly limitless optimism of the Founding Fathers even as he concludes his sketch of Jefferson with a reminder of his interest in limiting the size of the ideal township. He anticipated our own need for intimacy in communities larger and more complicated—geographic or electronic—than any he could have imagined. There are, Erikson notes, psychological and political reasons for it: "American democracy, if it is to survive within the superorganizations of government and commerce, of industry and labor, is predicat-

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ed on personal contacts within groups of optimal size—optimal meaning the power to persuade each other in matters that influence the lives of each (123)." Lacking any political program more specific than this Erikson may have in mind as an optimal grouping the one which includes only someone in need of help and a healer. The reciprocal encounter, cited above, of Jesus and the woman is one instance, psychoanalysis is another. Both are examples, like the life of Jefferson, of the value of finding political motives and manners within knowledge of the life cycle and its histories, and of the psychoanalytic situation. How the resolutions promised by religious heroism or psychotherapy can be transferred to politics and public life is the kind of question Freud had in mind when he defended the ambitions of his pathmaking discipline even as he acknowledged its inconclusive products.

In *Childhood and Society* the relation between epigenetic theory and political biography is never synthesized. It remained for Erikson to integrate public and communal ideals into psychological ones. In the three decades since *Childhood and Society* he has filled out the original design with new developmental sequences by relying on fresh clinical experience but also by borrowing from ethology the idea of ritualization in social relations and from evolutionary biology the theory of ontogeny as an organizing principle for ethical development.[12] A fourth source of principles has been the biographies, including even the sketches like that of Jefferson which highlight particular themes and problems. As the categories have multipled so too have the potential pathologies and thus the possibilities for relating the theory of the life cycle to political discord. Finally, and inevitably, the progress of Erikson's own life cycle has made the latest developmental blueprint autobiographical. Emphasis is shifted to the later stages and indeed the commentary begins with old age and adult development and moves back to infancy and childhood. The issue, however, is not just the explanatory direction of this comprehensive summary but the importance in *The Life Cycle Completed* (1982) of Erikson's brief account of the historical motives of the theory and its current meaning.

In his psychology Erikson always intended to fortify Freud's by expounding on the work of the ego as an agency of "inner" life shaped by its "outer" or social origins and responsibilities. One consequence in the immediate postwar years was to be knowledge of the differences among nations and of how destructive trends arise, and can be managed, in advanced societies. In building a psychology for the future, however, Erikson also expressed his heterodoxy by looking to the past, primarily to the lives of religious and political leaders but also

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to the very history of the endeavor giving meaning to his clinical and biographical findings. His own professional history, beginning with the diaspora of analysts in the early 1930s, included of course a time when ignorance of American history was concealed by his conceptual ambitions and clinical gifts. But it was, in fact, his early investigations into the American past and then rapid allegiance to the school of cultural relativism which made it possible to recognize and mobilize differences on behalf of individual and national development. Marginality in his own life history, as an immigrant lay analyst with ambiguous national and religious roots, prepared Erikson for interest—professional and personal—in the fate of the American case.[13] *Dimensions of a New Identity* is part of the record of how Erikson came to be at home in the habits of modern domesticity, in his own version of Freudian psychoanalysis and psychobiography, in religious ecumenicism, and in the unresolved politics of Jefferson's America and ours.

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NOTES

1. *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* Translated by James Strachey et al. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–74), XXII, 3–4.
2. Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 101.
3. Impressive recent examples of the latter are: Peter Loewenberg, *Decoding the Past: the Psychohistorical Approach* (New York: Random House, 1984) and Philip Pomper, *The Structure of the Mind in History: Five Major Figures in Psychohistory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). Loewenberg's "Overview of the Field" is rich in bibliographic citations.
4. Erik H. Erikson, *The Life Cycle Completed: A Review* (New York: Norton, 1982), pp. 91–2.
5. Page references appearing in the text refer to *Dimensions of a New Identity* (New York: Norton, 1974). The text was delivered as the 1973 Jefferson Lectures under the auspices of the National Endowment of the Humanities and was expanded considerably for publication.
6. Merrill D. Peterson, ed. *The Portable Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Penguin, 1975), p. 513.
7. This theme has had a lasting effect on Erikson. His essay "The Galilean Sayings and the Sense of 'I' " (*Yale Review,* Spring 1981) opens with acknowledgement of its derivation from his work on Jefferson.
8. Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: Norton, 1968), pp. 81–2.
9. *Ibid.,* p. 90.
10. Erikson notes in the Preface to *Dimensions of a New Identity* that his lecture audience "expected a clarification of living issues as contemporary as the day before and after." The printed version, he notes, comes closer to this goal than

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the spoken one. *Toys and Reasons* (see below), on which Erikson was working at the same time he took up Jefferson as a subject, is more direct in its political intentions. In 1961, with the example of Gandhi in mind, Erikson had proposed "Maybe it is time to study political sequences as psychological continuities rather than as accidental fatalities." (*Insight and Responsibility* [New York: Norton, 1964], p. 205.)

11. Speaking of the differences between Freud's biographical technique and Erikson's, Pomper remarks: "In Freud's vision the leader stands above and apart from the group, in Erikson's, he is a member of a generational community of sufferers." (*The Structure of the Mind in History,* p. 94.) For a contrasting view Robert D. Holsworth, "The Politics of Development: The Social Psychology of Erik Erikson," *The Georgia Review,* XXXVI (2), Summer 1982: "Erikson's work is elitist in the sense that he projects ethical transformations as occurring on a model presented by religious innovators and great teachers, not through the collective undertakings which we set out to accomplish" (p. 400).

12. See Erik H. Erikson, *Toys and Reasons: Stages in the Ritualization of Experience* (New York: Norton, 1977).

13. I have discussed this theme in "Erikson on America: *Childhood and Society* and National Identity." *American Studies* XXIII (2) Fall 1982.

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Amos Handel

The Sense of Estrangement From One's Previous Self in the Autobiographies of Arthur Koestler and Edwin Muir

In his autobiography, Muir (1954) describes the sense of estrangement he feels as he reads a poem he had written about thirty years previously. From the perspective of his 67 years of age he is taken by surprise by the "difference between what I thought myself then and what I think myself now" (p. 242) and notes that now these lines "seem so strange to me that I almost feel it was someone else who wrote them; yet that someone was myself" (p. 242). Based on his experience as a writer, Muir remarks that this sense of estrangement from one's previous self is "one of the disconcerting accidents of a writer's life . . . if he reads again what he wrote, say thirty years before" (p. 242). Thereupon he suggests that this may indeed be a common experience to us all: "I fancy we all have sometimes this sense of strangeness, or of estrangement, when we look back, perhaps at some moment in our childhood" (p. 242). Having made that observation, Muir does not elaborate any more upon this experience of his own or upon the essence of that phenomenon as it is supposedly experienced by most of us as we reflect upon what we were like at some point in our distant past.

In this paper, I shall explore the meaning and connotation of one's sense of estrangement from his past self as it is especially expressed in the autobiographical narratives of Koestler (1952, 1954) and Muir (1940, 1954). Each of these autobiographies contains at least one specific passage in which the author expresses a feeling of estrangement from a particular self in his past in terms of its conduct, its major aspirations and concerns, saying in effect that he encounters his past self as

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that of a stranger. Each of these autobiographies presents a comprehensive account of the author's life history and contains also some minimal, psychologically meaningful information about the specific background of the author's sense of estrangement from his previous self.

In examining the text of these autobiographies, the following questions will be explored: Does the sense of estrangement merely serve as a metaphor to express one's feeling that he has radically changed from what he was like in the distant past? What other cognitions and feelings seem to be involved in experiences of estrangement from one's previous self? What are the characteristic attributes of the particular self in the past which generates one's sense of estrangement? What can be learnt from accounts of such instances of estrangement about the autobiographer's sense of continuity, about his attitude toward his past and his unresolved conflicts from that time?

The primary source for exploring these questions will be the autobiography of Arthur Koestler (1952, 1954). The autobiography of Edwin Muir (1940, 1954) will serve as supplementary source of information in addressing these questions.

I

The autobiography of Koestler (1952, 1954) contains two references to feelings of estrangement from his previous self. The first pertains to the exasperating and pathetic figure of a timid, shy and insecure boy at the age of sixteen. Reflecting upon this retrospective image of himself, Koestler (1952) at about age 46 points out that we tend to be disloyal to our own past: "The gauche adolescent, the foolish young man that one has been, appears grotesque in retrospect and so detached from one's own identity that one automatically treats him with amused derision. . . . The agonies of youth are not funny, but distance and perspective make them appear funny, and one inadvertently falls into a patronizing, anecdotal style. I am trying to fight this impulse as I write this story, yet it is hard to recapture any sympathy for, and even less a feeling of identity with, the boy who was mortified when his classmates called him 'Awtuah Koestla' because he could not roll the r's in his name; who unconsciously rose on tiptoe, like a fighting cock, when talking to taller boys; and who, at sixteen, when for the first time invited to a formal luncheon, could for an hour or more only squeeze out of himself an occasional 'Yes, Madame,' or 'No, Madame,' while growing alternately purple and pale" (p. 76).

Here we find an expression of estrangement from a previous self

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that reads, at least on first view, as if the author took pains to fully repudiate his own adolescent self and dissociate himself totally from the anguished boy whose appearance and character he describes in retrospect.

At sixteen Koestler was the next shortest boy in his class, the shortest boy being a dwarf. This tortured him more than anything else and became the cornerstone of his inferiority complex. Next to shortness, his inferiority complex fastened on his juvenile appearance. He not only looked younger than others of his age, but in contrast to his intellectual precocity was markedly childish in his emotional development. In his own words: "I acquired cleverness rapidly, but wisdom very slowly. At ten I was an infant prodigy; at twenty-five still an adolescent" (p. 47). Tracing back the development of his personality, Koestler finds that his earliest memories "seem to group themselves about three dominant themes: guilt, fear and loneliness" (p. 32). He tried various poses to mask his extreme insecurity and lack of self-confidence, yet with little success. All in all, closing the chapter on the "Portrait of the author at sixteen," Koestler presents the following sketch: "The youth of sixteen that I was, with the plastered-down hair and the fatuous smirk, at once arrogant and sheepish, was emotionally seasick: greedy for pleasure, haunted by guilt, torn between feelings of inferiority and superiority, between the need for contemplative solitude and the frustrated urge of gregariousness and play . . . the archaic horrors of early childhood had receded but had not disappeared; they were latent, lying in wait, ready to pounce when provoked" (p. 82).

What about Koestler's view of himself at age 46, in 1952? Had he changed in his own view indeed that much that he cannot "recapture . . . a feeling of identity" with the boy he was at sixteen? Is the break with his own past actually so complete that he cannot feel but estranged and detached from his own earlier identity? The answer to this question is a definite No. This is clear from a simple reading of Koestler's own self-presentation of what he is like now, at the age of 46. Having reached his present height of five feet seven, he still feels ill at ease if he has to talk standing to a woman taller than he is, and does not seem to be too happy about the fact that "the type of woman who rushes at you at parties to gush about your books is usually over forty-five, and over six feet tall" (p. 74). There is his expectation that the feeling of guilt and the impending punishment has always been present and will stay with him forever. Furthermore, "Shyness and insecurity have remained my silent companions to this day. I have never *outgrown*, merely *overgrown* (emphasis added) them by a chatty,

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sociable, synthetic personality which I despise" (pp. 81–82). Wearing that mask in an attempt to cope with the requirements of his career as a journalist, his relations with people essentially remained "emotionally unbalanced as before, but the facade became smoother and more urbane" (p. 81). This artificial pose and mask gradually became the core of his "false personality" (p. 81). Finally, now, as in adolescence, there is the preoccupation with the constant urge to follow the call of his genuine self, to "shed the protective crust of false personality" (p. 245) and stop being a "sham and a phoney" (p. 351).

In the second volume of his autobiography ("The Invisible Writing"), Koestler (1954) again voices his feelings of estrangement from his own self in the past. This time he goes back about nineteen years to a period of three or four weeks he had spent at the house of Maria Kloepfer, a rich, middle-aged widow who was a benefactress of impecunious Communist writers and used to invite them, one at a time, to spend a few weeks at her house overlooking the Lago di Lugano.

Going back to that period when he was a young man of about thirty, he now expresses a feeling of estrangement from his past self at that time: "It often happens to me in writing these pages that I am unable to visualize my past self. Then I take a photograph from a drawer and say—well, here he is. But even that isn't quite reassuring for I know that that face, with the plastered-down hair and the fatuous smirk is phoney, the product of growing a false personality, whose genesis I have described earlier on" (pp. 290–291).

The young man from whom Koestler (1954) feels estranged is described by him in retrospect as "a brilliant and hyper-sensitive young man . . . [yet] remarkably stupid where others were concerned" (p. 290). The tangled relationship with Maria created situations that grated on his sense of inferiority which had been there since the early days of his childhood. Maria was able to penetrate beneath the mask of his false personality. She was able to see there "the ultimate, gaping emptiness: the void of the nineteenth century's scientific materialism" (p. 293) he was desperately trying to hold onto in his rearguard battle against the "invisible writing" of the paranormal phenomena that had appeared on his horizon. Maria, who had suffered nervous breakdowns earlier in her life and was now fighting for survival against insanity, had the gift to read fragments of that invisible writing. He, on the other hand, was not yet ready to accept the existence of another plane of reality which is inaccessible to the rational mind.

In his rearguard action against the invisible writing, Koestler was led to unending, embittered discussions with Maria on Determinism

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versus Free Will. Acting as if his whole existence depended on the outcome of these disputes, Koestler's agitation caused him to react in these situations with anger, rage and more than a bit of cruelty toward Maria. Yet all of these vices pale against the sin he committed in deserting Maria. Unaware at that time of the part he was playing in Maria's struggle against insanity, of his capability to help and protect her from becoming a total victim of her hallucinations, Koestler (1954) now blames himself for having missed a possible opportunity of saving her. Having deserted a friend in need is a sin Koestler cannot forgive himself. That sin touches upon the core of his identity as the sin he committed previously in betraying and denouncing the woman he loved, Nadeshda, to the G.P.U.: "The encounters with Nadeshda and with Maria, had, on their own different planes, both touched me to the core. Both had lived under the threat of their destinies, and when it was closing in on them, I had failed them both. In each case there had been mitigating circumstances which one could plead before a court, but not before oneself" (pp. 299–300). Moreover, the recognition of having deserted Maria to her fate seems to have evoked Koestler's sense of estrangement from his past self to a greater extent than any other previous sin of commission.

Koestler's sense of estrangement from his past selves as he describes it in his two autobiographies (1952, 1954) is about a self defined by explicit, clearly marked characteristics. Almost all of them are essentially negative and represent what Koestler himself views as weak points in his own character and moral conduct. His sense of estrangement from these previous selves does not rest on a notion that he has drastically changed since then and thus got rid of his faults from years ago. On the contrary; his self-presentation at the time of the writing clearly indicates that he is fully aware that these faults are still with him, slightly modified at the most, as he now has reached the stage at which he can live with them without being unduly upset by their implications as much as he had been in the past.

By expressing a sense of estrangement from these defective selves, Koestler apparently communicates his condemnation of these selves, his deep disappointment in himself for having then utterly failed as judged by his present standards of conduct and behavior. The combination of such feelings of estrangement together with an intense feeling of guilt and indignation over his previous failures serves, however, also to enhance his present self-regard and feeling of integrity. By vehemently proclaiming his guilt, he gains some satisfaction for his well-pronounced masochistic tendencies and a partial, cathartic cleans-

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ing of his conscience; by exposing his detachment from his own identity in the past, he can absolve himself in part from being now fully accountable for his past sins.

The sense of estrangement from one's previous self as it is described in any autobiography is evidently related to the idiosyncratic features of (a) the author's present view about the core of his identity; (b) the actuality of his life history and his own "theory" about the course of his development; (c) the particular form and style chosen by him in writing down his autobiography. Koestler's detailed self-presentation contains a good deal of information about these features; it seems to be a potentially promising point from which to start exploring the possible impact of each of these features upon his sense of estrangement.

What seems to characterize Koestler's course of life and existence is a long-standing pattern of discontinuities. When he was ten years old, the Koestler family left Budapest, moved to Vienna and since then never had had a permanent home. Wandering later on his own, Koestler frequently changed his domicile and country of residence and did not strike roots in any of these places. Moreover, it took him ten years or more, after his escape to England, until he gradually found out that for him living outside England meant "living abroad" (1954, p. 429). Concomitantly, he had to change his language, first from Hungarian to German, then from German to English; for a writer, this "means a gradual and unconscious transformation of his pattern of thinking . . . he acquires not only a new mode of communication but a new cultural background" (Koestler, 1954, p. 426). The impact of this series of discontinuities is exacerbated by his ideological, conversion-like transformations that led him to militant Zionism, thereafter to become converted to Communism and then to denounce that creed vehemently, to become a spokesman for the "invisible writing" and devote his energy to writing about mysticism and science, extrasensory perception and biological theory. Koestler's self-presentation (1952, 1954) indicates that he is fully aware of and concerned about his changefulness and his difficulties to discover within himself a stable solid core.

Describing in retrospect his own personality at the age of sixteen, he is struck by "the lack of clear-cut personality, of a solid center of gravity" (1952, p. 80). In a note referring to his state of mind at a much later stage of his life, Koestler reiterates that pressing concern: "Saint, artist, chronicler, hedonist? Forty-three, and still in search of a leitmotif" (quoted in Hamilton, 1982. p. 131). Moreover, only much later in his life, at the age of 71, Koestler reached a point at which he reveals a markedly different perspective in construing the course of his

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own evolution. At this time, Koestler indeed seems to take pains to convince the interviewer, the public and perhaps even himself that beneath the apparent discontinuity in his literary work there is a "certain line of development. A wavy line—with detours . . . but a line . . . there is a discontinuity in the *type* of books I've written, but no discontinuity in my mind about them. There is only a shift of approach, from the *apparent* practicality of politics to the *apparent abstraction* of my present work" (Feifer, 1976, p. 23).

It is difficult to establish and maintain a sense of continuity connecting one's present and past selves when the course of one's life undergoes so many drastic changes. In the case of Koestler, this may also have been instrumental in producing his feelings of estrangement. While his changefulness may have prepared the ground for an inclination to repudiate easily the existence of a personally meaningful connection with a past self, abandoned somewhere at one of the numerous turning points in his life course, this disposition probably was markedly strengthened by the intense feelings of shame and guilt he had later held toward some of these selves.

The experience of shame and guilt distinctly characterizes Koestler's self-identity as revealed in the self-portraits he presents of himself as a child, as a sixteen-year-old adolescent, as a man of twenty-five, and at the age of thirty-five and after. The intensity of these feelings appears to be nourished by his recurrent failures to meet the high standards he has set for himself. He describes himself as a perfectionist obsessed with a phantom chase after the perfect woman, after the perfect cause. He characterizes himself as suffering from a disease which he calls "absolutitis." Another form of this "disorder" is to be seen in his phantom-like chase after his real self, presumably hidden somewhere beneath the various masks he has been wearing. To discover that self, to realize it fully, by overcoming his long-standing inhibitions is a major, pressing concern for him even at the age of 46. Aware and perhaps cured by now of his phantom chase after women and causes, he still has not given up the hope that in another ten years he may be at least "myself and nothing else besides" (1952, p. 245).

A similar vein of "absolutitis" can also be found in the particular approach Koestler adopted in writing the story of his life. Imprisoned during the Civil War in Spain, Koestler made a vow that if he ever got out alive, he would write an autobiography "so frank and unsparing of myself that it would make Rousseau's *Confessions* and the *Memoirs* of Cellini appear as sheer cant" (1952, p. 26); in that autobiography "truth would be carried to the point of self-immolation, done with the

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ruthless sincerity of an X-ray photograph" (1954, p. 361). Strongly motivated by a vow made under such fateful circumstances and guided by his commitment to present a fully true, authentic picture of himself, Koestler occasionally adopts the impersonal, 'objective' frame of reference of the diagnostician, acting as if he were called to write a clinical case-history of himself. Describing himself as a youth of sixteen, Koestler (1952) concludes that in "psychiatric terms there was in me a strong trend toward infantilism with pronounced fixations" (p. 47). He further avails himself of similar labels as he tries to convey to his readers the notion that he fortunately differs from the "bores" whom psychiatrists call "integrated personalities."

In order to produce an intuitively plausible account of his own development, the autobiographer obviously has to step out of himself and view himself and the course of his development from some distance. In the case of Koestler, this distance has been considerably extended by his stance of estrangement from some selves in his past and by the pattern of a rather schematic self-analysis which he employs as he steps into the role of: (a) the psychiatrist in his effort to "explain" by diagnostic labels the etiology of his disturbances in the past; (b) the sociologist in claiming that he is a "typical sample" (1954, p. 428) of his generation inasmuch as the course of his life and of his political affiliations were entirely normal for a member of the intelligentsia in Central Europe during the totalitarian age.

Viewed as a specimen of a particular, highly complex version of estrangement, Koestler's detailed account can be further examined in an attempt to draw from it some general inferences and speculations about the presumable features of this phenomenon in autobiographical accounts of other individuals. Some tentative ideas on these features and on the wider implications of this version of estrangement are suggested below:

1. Feelings of estrangement from one's previous self do not necessarily entail a low level of self-awareness. In this rather complex version of estrangement there is no need to either "forget" or blur in one's memory the vividness of past experiences; moreover, one can take full responsibility for his misdeeds in the past, declare himself guilty for having committed them, yet relegate the past self—the executor of these deeds—to a position of being now far removed from and essentially irrelevant to one's conception of what his real self has always been like. It is as if one has formed in his mind an imaginary scale for grading his various selves according to their proximity to the

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core of his true, real self. Assisted by such a scale, one can locate and subsequently relocate his various selves, placing at the far end of the continuum past selves he has totally abandoned or those he now feels estranged from. Unlike the former, the latter may be oftentimes characterized by an investment of strong, mostly negative emotions. This would especially apply to those individuals whose sense of estrangement is attached to a self that corresponds in some major aspects to their negative identity (Erikson, 1968). The memory of a self that stands out as a living reminder of having once realized what one has been most fearful to become, together with a foreboding that this past self has not been eradicated, that it continues its existence, hidden somewhere deep inside one's personality, seems to be an important factor in generating a sense of estrangement toward such a self.

2. Feelings of estrangement from a previous self may eventually alleviate the discomfort one feels as he becomes aware of the discrepancy between his ideal and actual self. This particular function of feelings of estrangement may be of special importance among those who: (a) being driven by a need for perfection have elevated their ideal self to an extreme; (b) possess that much insight into their own self that they simply cannot ignore those instances in which they failed to behave according to the norms of their ideal self. In these cases, a sense of estrangement from a previous self that has violated in its behavior one of the basic standards of their exalted, ideal self, may provide a subjectively comforting solution. It enables such individuals to view that past self as an incidental episode, which lost its actuality, and therefore need not be considered by them as they bring into comparison their actual and ideal self and assess the congruence of these selves.

3. Feelings of estrangement from one's previous self do not necessarily impair one's sense of continuity. On the contrary, the complex version of such feelings may well serve the purpose of maintaining a sense of continuity and support one's notion that he has remained essentially the same in terms of the core of his identity. We have to bear in mind that any past self which appears to contradict such a notion, will cease to have such an effect whenever it is designated as a self from which one has become estranged. Having done so, the individual is free to disregard that self in the process of redefining his sense of continuity and concentrate on the remaining selves from his past as he proceeds to reestablish connections between his past and present view of himself. To generate a sense of estrangement and resort to it in such a context may at first sight appear as an utterly innocuous task. Judging, however, from Koestler's self-presentation, this may not be the

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case among those individuals who have been so far unable to consolidate a fundamental sense of continuity of their self around a more or less clear conception about the core of their identity. For them, the confrontation with a self they now feel estranged from may be a source of intense anxiety. Lacking the confidence and conviction in the actual existence of an unbroken continuity and connectedness between their selves in the past and their present self, they are prone to doubt the very existence and realness of the particular self from which they now feel estranged; these doubts might extend also to the erstwhile actuality of the particular segment of the "I" which was the agent of action of that self. In this case, the anxiety and apprehension may well rise and generate the kind of panic that seized Koestler when he initially failed to find any trace of his literary past during his visit to the archives of the New York Public Library (1952, pp. 188–189).

4. A sense of estrangement from a self in one's past does not necessarily imply the self-conviction that one has markedly changed since that time. One can express feelings of estrangement from a past self yet in the same breath acknowledge that some, or even most, of its attributes have remained an integral part of his self-concept. These two apparently contradictory self-appraisals may indeed coexist in the internal frame of reference of the individual without interfering with the internal consistency and coherence of his self-concept on the assumption that: (a) his self-concept has evolved as a relatively complex structure containing also some apparently contradictory self-appraisals, like the ones mentioned and expressly presented as such in the closing pages of Koestler's autobiographical self-presentation (1954), e.g., the contradiction Koestler himself perceives as he notes both his "sensitivity and callousness, integrity and shadiness, egomania and self-sacrifice" (p. 43); (b) the individual is aware that in building his own ontology, he approaches his own past from a certain perspective that is determined by his present view of himself; thus he comes to realize that in our consciousness "the past is malleable and flexible, constantly changing as our recollection reinterprets and re-explains what has happened" (Berger, 1963, p. 57) and to recognize that the account of his past experiences would be different if he were to "rewrite them after yet another fifteen years have elapsed" (Koestler, 1954, p. 362). The awareness that one's account of his past involves such a highly malleable reconstruction, which may change with the passage of time, is evidently bound to detract from the individual's feeling of being committed to any such explanation; it is bound to also detract from whatever discomfort he might feel as he

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reflects on two apparently contradictory, yet—in his own view—conceivably transitory and malleable self-appraisals: the sense of being estranged from a particular self in his past on the one hand, and his feeling that he has essentially remained the same as he was at the time on the other hand.

II

Going back to the instance of estrangement quoted from Muir's (1954) autobiography (p. 306 of this paper), we come upon a passage that is clearly focused upon an experience of estrangement of a writer inasmuch as it is generated by a poem he had written about thirty years before ("Chorus of the Newly Dead"). Muir's feeling of estrangement pertains to a self that belongs to a definite point of time in his past (spring and summer of 1924) and to what appears to be a relatively late period of his life (age of about 37).

> "that ghostly eternity
> Cut by the bridge where journeys Christ
> On endless arcs pacing the sea" (Muir, 1926, p. 15).

These are the specific lines that now arouse Muir's sense of estrangement and make him aware of the "difference between what I thought myself then and what I think myself now" (1954, p. 224). The apparent paradox of permanence and change implied in these lines has remained one of the central themes of Muir's poetry; what does not seem to be explicated in these lines is the nature of the difference he now finds in himself and the essence of the self he now feels estranged from. Referring to these lines, Butter (1962) suggests that perhaps it is the strong Nietzschean influence in Muir's past which now arouses his feeling of estrangement, yet on second thought he concludes that "neither the thought nor the images in which it is expressed are altogether clear" (p. 54). The text surrounding these lines also does not elucidate the particular meaning of this instance of estrangement of Muir; at the most, it suggests the possibility that this instance of estrangement involves a fusion of the following, apparently divergent feelings.

First, there is the feeling of having failed in his endeavor to adequately express his feelings in that poem: "the old disability which I had struggled with . . . a simple lack of skill, still held me up. In any case the theme was far too great for my powers" (p. 223). A similar feeling is once more voiced by Muir (1954) as he recollects his state of mind during that spring and summer in Austria when he was composing "an abortive poem" (p. 224); interestingly enough, this "abortive"

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poem was never reprinted by him, even though—in Butter's (1962) view—Muir has made "sustained effort to revise it . . . he must have thought the poem worth working on, but was not able to bring it to a state which satisfied him" (p. 53). Feelings of imperfection caused by his repeated failures to accomplish a highly meaningful task thus represent one of the diverse feelings attending Muir's sense of estrangement.

Second, there is the apparently dissonant element of happiness characterizing his mood in that period, as "I was happy during these spring and summer months in Sonntagberg" (p. 225). In his dreams about that period "everything has a supernatural radiance" (p. 225). How this element of happiness is actually related to Muir's experience of estrangement is not clear from the text; yet, the very existence of such feelings in the context of that experience further suggests the complexity of this variant of estrangement and cautions against the conclusion that this experience exclusively involves negative rather than positive feelings.

Third, there is an element of relief that goes along with his previous self. This element is intimated in two additional lines, Muir chose to quote from the "Chorus of the Newly Dead": "The stationary country where/ Achilles drives Hector runs" (p. 223). The image presented in these lines is an "image which has often haunted me" (p. 224). The relief he then sensed came from having succeeded at last, after thirty years, to rid himself of the terror, panic and shame that once had flooded his being as he was desperately fleeing from a boy who wanted to fight him. Muir describes the intensity of the fear he felt at that time, at the age of seven: "I was afraid . . . hollow with fear. . . . What I was afraid of I did not know; it was not Freddie, but something else; yet I could no more have turned and faced him than I could have stopped the sun revolving" (p. 42). Reflecting upon that experience, Muir indicates its strong and long-standing impact: "For almost thirty years afterwards I was so ashamed of that moment of panic that I did not dare to speak of it to anyone, and drove it out of my mind. . . . I got rid of that terror almost thirty years later in a poem describing Achilles chasing Hector round Troy, in which I pictured Hector returning after his death to run the deadly race again" (p. 42–43). Muir is deeply impressed by the impact of that poem, "Ballad of Hector in Hades," published about a year before the "Chorus of the Newly Dead," and elaborates upon the effect it had on him: "the poem cleared my conscience. I saw that my shame was a fantastically elongated shadow of a childish moment, imperfectly remembered. . . . I

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could at last see the incident whole by seeing it as happening, on a great and tragic scale, to someone else. After I had written the poem the flight itself was changed, and with it my feelings towards it" (p. 43).

Muir (1954) does not elucidate the connection between his present sense of estrangement from himself as he was thirty years ago (at the age of 37) and the relief he had then felt after having worked out a traumatic experience which had happened when he was a seven-year-old child and had haunted him since that time, for many years. It is conceivable that it is the specific intensity of those feelings of relief which now arouses Muir's sense of estrangement. Perhaps it is the recollection of how deeply redeeming and personally gratifying that transformation seemed to be at that time, together with the notion that the actual, long-range impact of this attainment has been far below the erstwhile expectations, which now (1954) generates Muir's sense of estrangement.

Describing his development, Muir mentions numerous events and experiences which in his present view stand out as turning points in the course of his life in the past, e.g.: his first encounter with death, his acute guilt and fears at the age of six, his first conversion at the age of 14, the successive deaths of his brother and mother, the first five years of his life in Glasgow, his conversion to Socialism at the age of 21, his reading of Heine and Nietzsche, his marriage, his psychoanalytic treatment, his recovery and discovery of himself at the age of 35, and his second conversion at the age of 52. While Muir generally enters a note about the specific impact of each of these events and occasionally records his present feelings and attitude toward that experience, none of these notes contains a reference to feelings of estrangement from any of these previous selves.

This obviously raises the question what indeed determines the difference between each of these experiences on the one hand, and the episode which aroused Muir's sense of estrangement on the other hand. While here again the relevant information is incomplete, it is conceivable that the former refer to components of self which—in his own view—have been distinctly modified or abandoned after the particular experience has been assimilated. In contrast, the latter may well be comparable to the experience of estrangement reported by Koestler (1952) inasmuch as it centers upon: a) a component of self which has been crucial for Muir in construing the essence of his true self; b) a pattern of behavior he wished to believe that it has markedly changed, yet deep inside there is the feeling of "unfinished business", of the continued existence of that pattern.

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III

James (1890), Stern (1938) and Allport (1942) mention the existence of a feeling of estrangement from one's self in the past as a commonplace reaction of adults to various episodes and experiences in their early childhood. What seems to be implied in the writings of these psychologists is that this phenomenon is but a natural outcome of the distance in time separating adults' present and past self. As a result of that distance, many experiences from our early childhood tend to be dimly recollected and blurred in our memory. Furthermore, these experiences seem to lack the element of "warmth and intimacy" (James, p. 335) which we feel toward our present self and consequently that past self "is a foreign creature with which our present self is no more identified in feeling than it is with some stranger's living child to-day" (James, p. 335).

In contrast to this rather "simple" version of estrangement, the instances of estrangement reported by Koestler (1952, 1954) and Muir (1954) indicate that such feelings may serve as a complex defensive operation for coping with conflicting, affect-laden self-appraisals of change and sameness that touch upon the core of one's identity and reflect one's unresolved conflicts with respect to the essence of that core.

In this particular, "complex" version of estrangement, the estrangee may be further characterized as follows:

First, the individual seems to have a clear, vivid, perhaps somewhat hypermnesic picture of the specific self he now feels estranged from. This in contrast to a sense of estrangement which may be caused by shortcomings of one's memory and by his difficulties to recollect the content of his experiences at that particular time in his past (cf. Stern, p. 251).

Second, the individual is able to recover and re-experience feelings which were originally associated with that particular self in his past. This in contrast to instances of estrangement which seem to rest on one's difficulty to revive, re-actualize the feelings and emotions associated with that self so much that to such a person that particular portion of his life eventually "is not different from the activities of a stranger that he reconstructs from historical sources" (Stern, pp. 251–252).

Third, the individual seems to be eager, perhaps anxious to conclude that he has markedly changed in comparison to what he was like at some point in his past. At the same time, however, his self-presentation suggests that he is aware of the fact that he has remained the same,

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unchanged—in his own eyes—in terms of the major attributes of the particular self he now claims to be estranged from. Here again, there is a contrasting version of estrangement. In that version, the very notion of estrangement seems to have been introduced as a metaphor for Change, in order to emphasize the radical, permanent character of the transformation of self (cf. two such instances reported in the autobiography of Reik, 1949, pp. 226–227, pp. 330–331).

Fourth, the individual appears to "defend" himself against the discomfort of threat which is associated with a particular self in his *past* and is generated by a recollection of that past. This phenomenon of estrangement should be clearly distinguished from what is implied by the term of estrangement as it is used in describing other conceptually independent phenomena, e.g., estrangement as one of the major symptoms of depersonalization. Characterized by a split of the self into the observing and participating parts, depersonalization is attended by an uncanny sense of unreality, of strangeness penetrating one's experiences in the *present.* Here the feeling of estrangement is definitely attached to one's present rather than past self and entails fantasies which serve to ward off anxiety and to provide reassurance that what is being *presently* experienced is not fully real, is not happening to oneself but to a stranger from which one has become "estranged" (cf. Federn, 1952; Frances, Sacks & Aronoff, 1977; Stewart, 1964).

Fifth, feelings of estrangement from one's previous self do not seem to be necessarily connected with or limited to experiences which occurred in one's childhood or early adolescence. One can feel estranged from a self in the teens, twenties, thirties, etc., and apply this designation to selves belonging to other periods in the past. The time interval separating one's present self and the particular self in the past from which one now feels estranged is definitely immaterial; here, the distance is determined by the individual himself, by his notion that the previous self is now both far removed from and consonant with what in his eyes has always been the core of his true, real self.

Finally, the estrangee seems to face difficulties in assimilating and integrating some personally meaningful and critical experiences from his past within his self-concept. While he may be aware of the salience and psychological centrality (Rosenberg, 1979) of these experiences, the individual seems to vacilate in his attitude toward the self manifested in those experiences, undecided in his own mind whether to reject, repudiate, and disavow that particuliar self in his past or to appropriate that self. The central importance of such an attitude in the development of this particular version of estrangement stands out

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from the perspective of the opposite stance, namely one's willingness to affirm the experiences and properties of that self as an integral part of his continuous self-identity, and to identify himself as one who knows, feels, and spells out that these experiences are indeed *his*.

How such a stance becomes a major theme in the autobiographic consciousness of an individual and induces him to search for a personally meaningful connection with his self from more than thirty years ago is illustrated in the autobiographical work of Saul Friedländer (1979). From the perspective of a man in his mid-life, established in his career and way of life, Friedländer reconstructs his lot in the past as a child hiding from the Nazis, and relates an episode from thirty-five years ago when he tried to put an end to his misery and let himself die. Viewing his past self in the broader perspective of the collective identity of Jews, Friedländer raises the question whether the child who lost himself wading in the ice-cold water of a brook, fully aware at that time of what he was doing, was really *himself* and adds his conclusion: "I imagine that if there were such a thing as a collective Jew, he might well ask himself the same question: am I the same today as the Jew of thirty-five years ago? Yes, it is indeed me; it is indeed us . . . everything has changed and yet nothing has" (p. 100).

Friedländer's account about his attempts to establish connections with his experiences and feelings in his distant past also illustrates the fact that the willingness to personalize such traumatic experiences is a stance which tends to be adopted, if at all, after many years of evading the threatening memories from that part of one's life. The accounts of Friedländer and of other middle-aged individuals about their holocaust experiences (cf. Pisar, 1979) further suggest that one has to regain a solid sense of security, of basic self-confidence in order to appropriate that vulnerable self and thereby admit that in some specific aspects that hopeless and helpless self is an inherent part of his present self. This seems to be imperative in order to ward off the fear and anxiety of being engulfed by a self which factually belongs to one's distant past, mostly is rather dormant, yet inherently constitutes an immense threat to one's arduously regained self-respect. What seems to be no less crucial in this context is one's own conviction that he must search for and find connections with that traumatized self and that he is compelled to adopt such a stance. Otherwise, he would hardly persevere in this highly demanding and painful task, and would evade it altogether in the first place, or dissociate himself from that self, one way or another, e.g., by expressing a sense of estrangement from that particular self.

The instances of estrangement described by Koestler (1952, 1954)

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and Muir (1954) illustrate how this particular attitude toward one's past is meaningfully related to what the individual presents as the core of his continuous self-identity and how this attitude may reflect his unresolved conflicts about the nature of that core. Presented within the context of a detailed, comprehensive autobiography, similar records about one's sense of estrangement from a self in one's past may well enrich our understanding of the personal, subjective meaning of those critical experiences which so far the author has been unable to assimilate and integrate within his self-concept. Furthermore, such records may also illuminate the personal, implicit "theory" which the autobiographer employs in his endeavors to construe an intuitively plausible account about the course of development of his true self and about whatever detours he has made on his way to actualize that self.

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FRANCIS SHOR

Cultural Identity and Americanization: The Life History of a Jewish Anarchist

To find meaning in an individual life is not an exercise in isolating the monad of experience, nor even the celebration of a unique existence; it is a search to locate the historical and social interstices connecting a culture to its inhabitants. Wilhelm Dilthey's contention that "every single individual is at the same time a point of intersection for structures that permeate individuals, exist through them, but extend beyond their lives" provides an important theoretical insight into this link between the individual and society.[1] However, in order to understand the active process by which individuals appropriate meaning in their own culture and, thus, become meaning-making beings, one must enlarge the theoretical scope to include a more dialectical explication of the concepts of consciousness and identity. Such dynamic phenomenological and psychological approaches can be found in the work of Jean-Paul Sartre and Erik Erikson. I propose to explore the implications of the perspectives of Sartre and Erikson, along with those of Dilthey and his interpreters, for comprehending the role that the individual plays as an interpretive key to analyzing a particular culture.

Jean-Paul Sartre's dialectical approach to the individual and society through the discussion of "milieu" and "situation" offers a concrete basis for apprehending the interaction of history and consciousness.[2] The milieu combines the "cognitive and directive function" of culture with the "real contingencies as defined by the social structure."[3] The situation is the meaning-building process generated by the intentional-

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ity of each individual. Such meaning-building process assumes the form of the Sartrean totalization. This totalization is never complete because of the constant interaction of incomplete and derivative modes of consciousness. According to Sartre, the "dialectical totalization must include acts, passions, work and need as well as economic categories; it must at once place the agent or the event back into the historical setting, define him in relation to the orientation of becoming, and determine exactly the meaning of the present as such."[4] In other words, since totalization is bounded by the historical setting, the meaning-building process as a dialectic of milieu and situation produces the modes of consciousness articulated through individual lives.

To explicate critically this intricate movement of consciousness, the problem of mediations must be considered. Meaning comes to individuals pre-formed, that is, consciousness has been pre-invested with motivational and attitudinal factors. The presentation to the individual of this pre-formed meaning can be designated as the process of socio-cultural givenness. Socio-cultural givenness subsumes the categories of milieu as culture and history and situation as intentionality. Socio-cultural givenness, thus, is the historically and culturally validated cognitive patterns transformed into perspectives within the social structure. However, the flow of this socio-cultural givenness is not uni-directional. The contingencies of situation, whether social structural or psychological, shape milieu. The most extreme reversal is the classic situation of revolution where the intentionality of radical social forces sweeps aside the historical and social impediments in the path of a new social order. On the other hand, the normal generational process re-works the shape of socio-cultural givenness in a dialectical manner which Marx analyzed in its concrete operation. As Marx noted, ". . . history does not end by being resolved into 'Self-Consciousness' as 'spirit of the spirit,' but . . . there is a material result at each historical stage, a sum of productive forces, a historically created relation of individuals to nature and to one another which is handed down to each generation from its predecessor—a mass of productive forces, capital funds, and conditions which on the one hand is modified by the new generation but on the other hand also prescribes its conditions of life, giving a definite development and a special character. It shows, therefore, that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances."[5] Marx's analysis captures the essence of socio-cultural givenness as discontinuity; therefore, in order to comprehend fully socio-cultural givenness, the nature of this dialectical process must be further explored.

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The root of the process of discontinuity within continuity resides in human beings. As a species which can constitute its world through self-reflection about the past and projection into the future, human beings develop a consistency to their world over time. Human experience is, thus, the continuous cataloging of the past for present and future reference.[6] On the other hand, the cataloging of experience is not always self-reflective even though that experience assumes a congealed or constituted form. That constituted form is the undifferentiated socio-cultural givenness rooted in the psychic consciousness of each member of the human species. The rooting of socio-cultural givenness in the psychic consciousness of each person is a developmental process that builds on the initial phases of socialization out of which roles are enacted and frames of reference on social reality are elaborated. While the Freudian approach to the interaction of consciousness with social reality contains important insights on the perceptual distortion of social reality, such insights suffer from their own kind of distortion by being reduced to biological and mechanistic paradigms.[7] On the other hand, psychoanalytic theory becomes critically significant when it can deal with the socio-cultural givenness of psychic consciousness. In Dilthey's discussion of the "psychic nexus of life" there is also a sense of the connection to the social and cultural environment.[8] However, in Freud and Dilthey, and most of their followers, there is a lack of understanding of how consciousness at all levels may be constrained by the operation of hegemony as the ruling norms of society.[9]

The persistence of hegemonic representation in ideologies and world-views further elaborates the sense of discontinuity within continuity of socio-cultural givenness. Although ideologies and world-views are rooted in the continuing development of the social structure, they can assume significance as independent continuities through the "symbolic evocation of absent realities."[10] The symbols behind ideologies and world-view are, moreover, real forces of experience that become sedimented through institutionalization and socialization. This phenomenological situation of the persistence and reality of illusions and delusions engendered by ideologies is accounted for by the operation of class society. Class society impels a non-reflective attitude toward social reality by dedifferentiating awareness through an alienated and dominated praxis. The freezing of alienated and dominated praxis into the socio-cultural givenness of class hegemony constricts awareness by overlaying intentionality with non-reflective ideologies.

The task of the moment is, however, to explicate socio-cultural

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givenness in its dialectical movement through milieu and situation. This movement can be illuminated through the development of a critical methodology of consciousness. Such a critical methodology involves what Sartre calls the "regressive-progressive method" and what Jürgen Habermas, following Dilthey, designates as "cultural hermeneutics."[11] Both social theorists aim at discussing experience as a lived reality. Both demand a critical dialectic that not only places what is being analyzed under the movement of history, but also how it is being analyzed. The development of a critical methodology requires, however, a critique of Sartre and Habermas that would overcome their respective existential and positivist tendencies and move toward a critical synthesis of their respective insights.

Both Sartre and Habermas see the need to situate consciousness in a meaning-building process, but they approach this process through different procedures. Basically, the regressive-progressive method of Sartre proceeds by delineating the composition and operation of the milieu while focusing on the intentionality of the situation. This allows for a measurement of socio-cultural givenness against the project of the individual. The regressive-progressive method requires a dialectical sense of the unfulfilling and incomplete nature of the project because of the inert or pre-formed world (thus, the regressive aspect); but since, as Sartre argues, "our roles are always future," one must grasp the project in its intentionality (thus, the progressive aspect).[12] Sartre produces an interpretive framework that can evaluate this intentionality as a real product through the individual's own awareness of the actual meaning of the project and, thus, can guarantee the necessary empathy for the situation. On the other hand, critical sensitivity enters when the situation is relocated within the milieu in order to gauge the objective meaning given to intentionality by the world. To explicate the explicit and implicit meaning of the project requires "comprehension" that aims not at reduction but at the reconstruction of the dialectical play of milieu and situation through the regressive-progressive method.[13] Comprehension plays a major role in the cultural hermeneutics of Habermas as the inheritance from Dilthey's approach to socio-historical expressions. Understanding meaning through cultural expression is what Dilthey and Habermas set out to do. Habermas, however, pushes Dilthey into a linguistic analysis of everyday life which diverges both from Dilthey's original intention and Sartre's primary concern. Sartre and Habermas reconverge, nevertheless, in Habermas's analysis of the project of historical hermeneutic science as a self-validating "practical cognitive inter-

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est."[14] This practical cognitive interest is Habermas's quasi-positivist equivalent to Sartre's quasi-existentialist "practico-inert." These concepts, while arrived at through different and sometimes faulty perspectives, provide a common conceptual ground in understanding the operation of consciousness as a meaning-building process. (Although this analysis has vastly oversimplified two crucially important and suggestive systems of interpretation, there is, at least, some basis to begin a synthesis toward a critical methodology.)

The basis for a critical methodology of consciousness in its total context is the experiential framework of socio-cultural givenness. The experience of individual consciousness of the other must be seen as a moment of one's own self-consciousness. This requires approaching the framework of history and culture as a co-determinate actor in the making of history and culture. However, this does not mean that all intentions are co-equally valid as sociologists of the symbolic interactionist schools have assumed. Intentions must be measured against the class dominated socio-cultural givenness and subjected to a regressive-progressive method of interpretation. The products of consciousness in whatever form—politics, literature, art, and even science—are rooted in the project of human intentionality as constrained by the praxis of class society. This means that any critical methodology must approach the expressions of human consciousness as a cognitive system that utilizes the symbolic resources of class society. The utilization of those symbolic resources, while grounded in the situation of individuals, reflects a specific milieu that the individual often takes for granted.[15] By comprehending the milieu in its socio-cultural givenness through a critical methodology, one can have guidelines to interpret the situation of consciousness as the project of the individual in the world.

Since socio-cultural givenness is the historically and culturally specific operation of hegemony, it only tends towards totalization as the meaning-building process which provides parameters for acting in the world without totally determining being-in-the-world. Flowing out of the developmental process of socio-cultural givenness, identity becomes the psychosocial focus connecting individual and cultural meaning. The category of cultural identity, thus, entails the historical grounding of this interconnection. Cultural identity can be seen as marking out themes that structure the perception of reality by individuals; however, this perception of reality is constantly undergoing the push-and-pull of changing social situations.[16] Cultural identity, therefore, should not be misconstrued as analogous to national character

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since national character most often implies determined and fixed national features.[17] In contradistinction to the static category of national character, cultural identity involves dialectical potentialities based on the interrelationship of milieu and situation. Moreover, in opposition to the proponents of "basic personality structure" and many of the adherents of theories on childhood determinism, the concept of cultural identity insists on the dynamic underpinnings of consciousness-in-the-making.[18] This is not to deny the influence of early childhood experience in determining perceptions of the world; rather, cultural identity provides a means for comprehending the full play of milieu and situation throughout an individual's lifetime. Certainly, residual patterns appear in individuals as do sedimentations in societies, manifesting symbolic persistence. Such symbolic persistence of the past is crucial in delimiting the operations of socio-cultural givenness. While cultural identity encompasses the givenness of social and cultural patterns, it also assumes the possibility of individual and societal change.

On an individual level, cultural identity operates through the mechanism of socialization. Socialization, however, must not be considered outside of an institutional framework since there is a constant interrelationship between socialization and institutionalization. One of the most dynamic approaches to the development of identity in the individual which takes the above into account is the model of psychic stages advanced by the social psychologist Erik Erikson. Erikson's approach provides a necessary antidote to the prescriptions of Freudian childhood determinists. Although Erikson has not completely abandoned the Freudian framework, he has insisted upon the continual focusing on the interrelationship of the individual and the environment in order to delineate the developmental process of identity.[19] The crucial period for identity formation, according to Erikson, is the fifth stage of child development, "identity vs. role confusion,"[20] where social roles become concrete enactments of the institutional order. As values and norms become major considerations for the individual at this stage, Erikson suggests that the adolescent mind becomes particularly susceptible to the symbols of ideology and authority behind values and norms. Elsewhere, Erikson draws attention to the interrelationship of ideology and identity by defining ideology in the following manner: "The tendency at a given time to make facts amenable to ideas, and ideas to facts, in order to create a world image convincing enough to support the collective and individual sense of identity."[21]

In order to situate Erikson's ideas on identity and ideology within

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the theoretical and methodological perspectives of this paper, it is necessary to refer again to the previous discussion of socio-cultural givenness. This leads us to place the individual's identity within the concrete givens of a specific history and culture, thus elaborating a cultural identity. Erikson's own work offers a provocative approach to cultural identity as a psychohistorical enactment of socio-cultural givenness. In his "Reflections on the American Identity," Erikson recognizes the dialectical aspect of cultural identity when he maintains: ". . . a nation's identity is derived from the ways in which history has, as it were, counterpointed certain opposite potentialities; the ways in which it lifts this counterpoint to a unique style of civilization, or lets it disintegrate into mere contradiction."[22] After establishing a theoretical scope that also recognizes the interrelationship of continuity and discontinuity, Erikson proceeds to outline the major themes behind the symbolic universe of American identity. Erikson concentrates on the cultural distinctiveness of the American family where basic mistrust prepared the way for a new type of autocracy that became further reinforced by technological exploitation of the environment. Erikson expresses the psychological ramifications of these cultural factors in the following manner: "The autocracy of the continent and the autocracy of the machine must be understood when one undertakes to study or criticize American child-training methods which tend to make a child slightly nostalgic and yet reliable, individualistic and yet predictable."[23] Rid of its overtones of psychologism and invested with a certain "sociological imagination,"[24] Erikson's statement provides an initial and insightful outline in which to situate the historical unfolding of consciousness and identity in America.

One unfortunate argument that has plagued interpreters of American history—thus, blocking the understanding of consciousness and identity—centers on the insistence of American uniqueness.[25] While there are obviously historical and cultural variations that provide America with different socio-cultural tendencies, there are also patterns that develop out of the socio-economic and socio-psychological foundations of modern Western society which are strikingly evident as major influences on identity formation in America. The elaboration of these foundations has situated America within the bounds of bourgeois hegemony and propelled America along the western road of domination and exploitation. The primary force that pushed bourgeois hegemony in America into its idiosyncratic socio-cultural framework was the specific historical relationship with the environment and its human context. As Erikson contends: "The size and rigor of the coun-

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try and the importance of the means of migration and transportation helped to create and to develop the identity of autonomy and initiative, the identity of him who is 'going places and doing things.' "[26] The American's acquisitive spirit was not radically different from that of Western man; rather, the special opportunities for domination, exploitation, and mobility (recognized in the scholarship of historians like William Appleman Williams, Eugene Genovese, and Herbert Gutman) produced strained variations on the theme of bourgeois hegemony.

While the hegemonic strains of exploitation and domination were embedded in the socio-cultural givenness of American society, these strains were not exempt from the push-and-pull of changing historical circumstances. In particular, the stage of intensive industrial change and massive immigration produced what one historian has called a "shake-up period."[27] It was within the outer borders of this period, roughly 1880–1930, that varying definitions of cultural identity, as well as ideological challenges to the institutional order, caused a reinterpretation of the norms of American life. For example, the struggle for control over the rhythm and rules of work and play during this period led to major crises of re-adjustment for both the social order and the individual.[28] The roles that individuals were expected to conform to were often caught in the conflicting claims made in the public and private sphere. Problems of identity became critical concerns in the lives and literature of natives and immigrants.[29] Moreover, the expression by the immigrants of their separate cultural identities, the development of radical politics, and the perceived threat that such heterogeneity and protest posed to the uniformities of American life led to an informal and formal movement for Americanization.[30] In effect, Americanization embodied a search for a hegemonic order and identity structures that could absorb the displaced and dissenters.

As a mechanism of ideological struggle, Americanization contained both liberal and reactionary tendencies. The liberal wing was part of the reformist impulse in the Progressive Era, while the reactionary thrust came from nativist responses. The demand for assimilation which would conform to Anglo-Saxon standards had roots not only in the fear of foreigners, but also in the fear of change.[31] On the other hand, the reformers welcomed the newcomers, albeit with some uneasiness, as part of the quest for a redefined America. Nevertheless, even when these reformers were prepared to accept the amalgamation of immigrants into America, either through "melting pot" or "cultural pluralist strategies," they saw adjustment as a function of the politics

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of social control.[32] If, as historian John Higham contends, "Americanization worked most successfully upon the immigrants through love," it was a curious love indeed.[33] Such love was an integral part of the development of a new hegemonic order that called for corporate responsibility and corporate control.[34] In reality, liberal reformers, fearing the turmoil caused by industrial, urban, and cultural dislocation, facilitated an adjustment that opened an ideological path to a more pervasive route for cultural homogenization. This process of "cultural transvaluation" inherent in the movement to Americanize the immigrant and related to the imperatives of a developing consumerism and mass culture eroded autonomous cultural identities and alternative institutions.[35] While repression during and after World War I played a role in stamping out radical alternatives, many of these alternatives could not sustain truly autonomous cultural identities and self-regulating institutions in the face of an ascendant corporate America.[36]

The attempt, however, to create and sustain an alternative radical culture did involve the lives of millions of new and older Americans during the first part of the twentieth century. To understand the trajectory of their lives in the context of the process of Americanization can provide an historical concretization of the categories of socio-cultural givenness and cultural identity. Moreover, by focusing on the life history of a person engaged in the struggle for an alternative social order and cultural identity, we can gain a better sense of how the institutional borders of American society are constructed. To see such an individual life as a test case for the difficulties and failures of sustaining radical alternatives does not negate that life or the lives of others who strove for such goals. In actuality, to offer such a case history as an interpretive key to the meaning of Americanized lives requires describing the points of variance, parallelism, and convergence between that one life and the larger historical context and cultural milieu.

Joseph J. Cohen was a Russian Jew, born in 1878 in a small village in White Russia. Pushed into rabbinical studies at an early age, he abandoned such training as an adolescent and became involved in the radical circles that were developing throughout Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1903 he joined the great wave of immigrants coming to the United States from eastern and southern Europe. After settling in Philadelphia, he became involved in the Jewish anarchist movement and eventually assumed an important leadership role in anarchist educational and communal experiments in America from the pre-world War I era through the Depression. In all his endeavors, Cohen carried with him a cultural identity formed in Russia and

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reshaped in the anarchist milieu in America. By examining, albeit in a sketchy manner, the critical moments of his radical engagement with his environment, we may comprehend both the parameters of his individual projects and the historical meaning of Americanized lives.

In his later years, Cohen began an autobiography as a conscious expression of revealing the meaning of his life history. In a letter to a friend in 1946, Cohen set his task to be a "review" of his life—"honestly, sincerely, and insofar as my talents go, artistically."[37] Cohen, thus, initiated this autobiographical project in the spirit which, according to a recent study of the autobiography, conveys a "cultural act of self reading."[38] While Cohen's autobiography only covers the period of his growth and development in Russia, a period of the first twenty-five years of his life, the fact that this review took place after the significant generative activity of his adult life should provide a basis for an analytical reading of critical moments of his identity formation. In the selection of these moments of his autobiography, it is necessary to refer to criteria which Erik Erikson utilizes in his study of autobiography. "An item in an autobiography," writes Erikson, "should be judged first for its meaning in the *stage of the recorder's life*, and secondly, for its meaning in the *course of his whole life history*. And this means that at the same time it must be seen in the immediate context of *contemporary history* and in the *historical process* of which that period is but a stage."[39]

As a Jew, Cohen was confronted at the earliest moments of his consciousness with the bitter legacy and reality of anti-Semitism in Russia. His recollections of memories of pogroms "impressed" upon him that he "was born a Jew, a scion of a persecuted race suffering oppression, misery and injustice all through the ages (p. 17)." Certainly, highlighting this consciousness and identity is compelling in the aftermath of the Holocaust, but it also reveals an element in the developing radical social consciousness of the child Cohen. In fact, the anti-Semitism and pogroms in Russia during the period from 1881–1905 did radicalize hundreds of thousands of Jews in Russia.[40] However, Cohen's radical consciousness was not to reach fruition until he broke with his religious training and became a Jewish apostate. During the period of his religious training, from the age of six into his middle adolescence, Cohen was made to suffer not only a painful separation from his family, but also enraging incidents of the capriciousness of authority. The lack of any reassuring or restrictive family context during his studies led to skepticism towards religious authority and experimentation in thinking, sexuality, and living arrangements. In effect, Cohen's

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religious doubt (p. 88) engendered an identity crisis that opened him to the rebellious attitudes of groups of Jewish adolescents in the cities and shtetls of the Pale.[41] On the other hand, Cohen could find a link between his Jewish identity and radical consciousness, particularly in the celebration and rituals of Jewish religious struggles against oppression (pp. 104–5). However, with his increasing estrangement from the orthodoxy of Jewish religion, his isolation from the active networks of Jewish culture, and his tentative contacts with "libertarian philosophy (p. 174)" during the time of his psychosocial moratorium in the army garrison at Grodno, Cohen evolved into a committed anarchist.[42]

Cohen's anarchism had roots in certain psychosocial factors that reflect not only his individual situation and identity, but also the milieu and consciousness out of which anarchism develops. Throughout his autobiography Cohen reveals a respect for the artisans and independent peasants who formed a significant part of his family and neighbors. While artisan and peasant backgrounds have been cited time and again as providing the social base for anarchist politics, the crucial psychological components of these life experiences are often overlooked. They are, however, strikingly evident in Cohen's autobiography. His reference to the nurturing role in the women peasants who taught him how to garden (pp. 32–4, 147) highlights both a psychosocial moment of his identity formation and of anarchist consciousness. His childhood memories of the joy of his own gardening are, in turn, representations of the stages of positive development that Erikson identifies as initiative and industry.[43] Cohen's later efforts to form communal rural experiments where farming plays the central role owe much to this early development. In addition, this emphasis on self-generating industry and initiative can be compared to the autocratic mechanization and bureaucratic ethos that marked the modernizing American civilization around the beginning of the twentieth century. The historical fact that anarchism flourished at this time in both industrial and cultural settings can be explained by opposing the belief of anarchists in an autonomous and organic political culture to an increasingly centralized and machine-dominated society. The ideological communal life makes Cohen an exceedingly good representative of the thought and practice of alternative groupings in the early decades of twentieth century America.[44]

While Cohen's anarchism was nurtured in Russia, it bloomed into full political activity soon after his arrival in the United States. His migration to America was at the edge of the wave of Jewish immigrants who would have such a strong impact on the political directions

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of the Jewish community.[45] His connections to the left labor movement, as a cigarmaker, and the fraternal organizations of the Jewish community, such as the Workmen's Circle, were further indications of Cohen's radical contacts and the progressive social consciousness among Jewish immigrants.[46] Involved in the Yiddish anarchist movement in Philadelphia, Cohen helped found the Radical Library, an important resource for Jewish anarchists and radicals. Cohen studied English with Voltairine de Cleyre, one of the leading American anarchists of the pre-World War I period. As her biographer points out: "she became . . . the apostle of anarchism to the Jewish immigrants of the Philadelphia ghetto."[47] His association with the native American anarchist movement grew in 1910 as Cohen became immersed in the Ferrer Modern Schools, alternative educational centers named for the martyred Spanish anarchist pedagogue. After three years of work in the Philadelphia Ferrer school, Cohen moved with his family to New York to manage the much larger and more important Ferrer Center.

Cohen's path of involvement in American anarchist experiments can be seen as an unfolding of the individual need for an intimate and generative community (as noted by Erikson) and as a representative key in the unfolding of the struggle of radical immigrants to find a place in a changing America.[48] Cohen's efforts in the educational and communal experiments in Philadelphia, New York, and later in Stelton, New Jersey and the Sunrise Community in Michigan combined his leadership capacities with his nurturing sensibilities. Described as "a tower of strength with his tenacity and common sense," Cohen also found opportunities to indulge his utopian visions.[49] But, it should be emphasized, those utopian visions were not totally alien to the reformist and radical ferment in American society during this period, nor even to the longer-standing American quest for perfected institutions.[50] Thus, Cohen's anarchist intersection with American society should be seen as a hermeneutic unveiling of the complex individual interactions with the historical milieu of American society. As one of the foremost scholars of anarchism has suggested: ". . . a study of American anarchism is essential to an understanding of such subjects as labor and immigration, pacifism and war, birth control and sexual freedom, civil liberties and political repression, prison reform and capital punishment, avant garde culture and art. In a larger sense a study of American anarchism will shed interesting light on the nature of American democracy, American capitalism, and American government."[51] While Cohen's life does not encompass equally all the previously cited issues, his activities and projects entail a critical point

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from which to assess the meaning of radical cultural identity and Americanized lives.

When Cohen became involved with the Ferrer Association in New York in 1913, he stepped into one of the most vital centers of anarchist and radical thought in the Progressive Era. The Ferrer Modern School was a forum for more than anarchist education; it was a cultural magnet that attracted a diverse grouping of reformers, free-thinkers, and revolutionaries in politics and the arts. From Emma Goldman to Margaret Sanger, from Hutchins Hapgood to Alexander Berkman, from Robert Henri to Man Ray, the Ferrer Center represented not only the intellectual ferment of the times, but also the desires of an alienated intelligentsia to develop alternative institutions and culture.[52] These were cultural radicals whose politics were at the same time at variance with the social order and parallel to the developing corporate ideal.[53] This isomorphic relation to Progressive politics can be seen in the over-valorization of education in terms not too divergent from John Dewey's instrumentalist approach.[54] On the other hand, while sharing certain ideas on the radical nature of progressive education, there was implicit in the anarchist conception of education adopted by the Ferrer Modern School a belief that social control, under any guise, was a coercive mechanism tied, ultimately, to the repressive state. According to Joseph Cohen: "The intrinsic value of the School could best be described in negative terms: it did not teach any dogmatism; it did not stuff the heads of the children with superficial cramming; it did not attempt to make good patriots of them to any particular nation . . ."[55]

When the Ferrer School moved to Stelton, New Jersey in 1915 in order to escape the growing anti-radical hysteria and to develop a more extensive communal experiment, Cohen assumed much of the leadership role in overseeing the colony. Most of the colony members were anarchists from Philadelphia and New York with immigrant backgrounds, eastern European Jews predominating. While receiving support from a number of Jewish related labor and fraternal organizations, the Stelton Colony did not become a spark for cultural revolution in America as some had hoped. With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution and the attendant Red Scare in America, the Colony experienced a brief outburst of revolutionary rapture, followed by a sobering sense of their vulnerability to repression. Although the Colony survived the Red Scare and continued until after World War II, its vital moment had passed by the beginning of the twenties.[56]

Cohen's disappointment that Stelton had not really developed into

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his Kropotkin-like ideal of an anarcho-communist commune became a motivating factor for the experiment at the Sunrise Community in Michigan during the Depression.[57] However, by the time of Sunrise recruits for an anarchist communal experiment would come from a smaller circle of committed ideologues. In fact, the distinct cultural identity of the radical immigrant had begun to disappear. According to one historian, immigrant workers were no longer as susceptible to genuine radical cultural and political alternatives because they had conformed "to a crucial trend in modern industrial society: the privatization of the family and the segmentation of social life in general."[58]

Yet, Cohen did not desist from his efforts to validate a radical cultural identity. He became editor of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (The Free Voice of Labor), a Yiddish anarchist newspaper that traced its beginnings back to 1890 and had a circulation of over 20,000 around the time of World War I. This was not a jump into the "compensatory chauvinism" of immigrants and minorities in response to the hysterical racism and nationalist symbolism of nativist Americans in the tribal twenties.[59] It was, however, a retreat from the frontlines of cultural radicalism at a time when the radical communities were shrinking in size. While the Yiddish press offered an opportunity to promote a sense of separate cultural identity, Yiddish culture itself was on the wane as a vehicle for an alternate cognitive map of the world.[60] The movement towards an Americanized life would find an ironic convergence in the following decade—a time of renewed political activity and further closure of a homogenized corporate hegemony.

In 1932 Cohen resigned as editor of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* in order to found and supervise the Sunrise Colony in Michigan. In his own account of this experiment, *In Quest of Heaven,* Cohen pointed out that the motivation for Sunrise was more than "a desire to find a temporary solution for the economic problems that affected (the Sunrise pioneers) personally during the years of the Depression."[61] Nevertheless, through a series of external economic pressures and internal bickerings, Sunrise became a victim of the "success" of the New Deal and the "failure" of anarchism. Cohen's own path after his efforts at Sunrise would be a somewhat lonely and haunting wandering to find a proper context for his radicalism. The coldness and vindictiveness that had been noted by some friends and colleagues in his personality[62] (and that had obvious roots in the isolation and humiliation that he had to face as a child) spilled into the open in the difficulties of maintaining Sunrise as a radical alternative community. Perhaps in light of the incorporative powers of the American environment, one could

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have hardly expected a cheerful success in fostering radical cultural alternatives.

On the other hand, the sense of overblown and optimistic expectations that Cohen and his followers brought to Sunrise was both a legacy of an older world-view and a burden. The inspiration for Sunrise that Cohen cited, from Soviet Russia to the Kvutzes in Palestine (p. 27), suggested a renewed hope in political and communal experimentation. Certainly, the New Deal ideology helped to foster that experimental mentality and the search for community.[63] As Cohen exuberantly contended: "We saw ourselves building a new world, a heaven on earth, a kingdom of justice for all who would join and do their share (p. 69)." Yet, as Cohen also noted, the colonists "were constantly driven into accepting rules which were based on some form of coercion (p. 95)." While during the first summer Norman Thomas could say after visiting Sunrise: "Here we have a living and inspiring example of the coming socialist order that will liberate mankind from its bondage (p. 72)," many of the colonists would leave this socialist paradise a few years later when the economy picked up. In fact, without the financial support from New Deal Farm agencies, Sunrise would have suffered more immediate economic ruin. While bailed out by the Federal government, Sunrise became hopelessly ensnared in the federal bureaucracy. Cohen and some of his followers also became mired in a court battle about the colony's finances. Although he was vindicated and cleared of any charges of malfeasance, Cohen was definitely embittered at the end of it all. His concluding remarks about "narrow egotism (p. 206)" and "human problems in a decadent age (p. 214)" revealed a loss of faith and sense of defeat.

Cohen's commitment to radical alternative institutions certainly diminished after Sunrise although his radicalism was not extinguished. Sunrise had obviously exhausted him. The problems of maintaining personal commitments to such radical communal experiments were not unique to Sunrise.[64] Moreover, as one cultural historian of the 1930's has noted: "personal commitment was probably the decade's great strength and great weakness. On the one hand, it permitted men to retain their flexibility, freedom, and individuality in the face of dogmas, organizations, mass movements, bureaucracies and centralized power. On the other hand, it tended to distract attention from the difficult tasks of social analysis and political strategy. . . . Later on, as commitment and action became ends in themselves, the vision of an alternative society began to fade from view."[65] Cohen's own commitments during the decade began to take on the pragmatic concerns of

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converging political ideas. He wrote about the need for a popular front, bringing him in line with the major tendencies of socialist thought and liberal politics of the period. Still, he vacillated between his older anarchism and the new political relevance. When Cohen left the United States in 1949 to move to Paris, he took over the editorship of a Yiddish anarchist journal called *Freie Gedank* (Free Thought). However, when he returned to the United States the year before his death in 1953, he returned as a "firm supporter of Adlai Stevenson."[66]

Does Cohen's spent radicalism provide the final clue to the meaning of Americanized lives? Perhaps, but only if we avoid certain glib generalizations about either the viability of American culture and democracy or the one-dimensionality of American thought and practice. While there is some truth in both generalizations, a more critically inclusive answer is needed. In a profound and incisive essay on "The Decline of American Radicalism in the Twentieth Century," Gabriel Kolko identifies the American and radical legacies of mechanistic optimism and faith in progress as major impediments in understanding "the complexities of the twentieth century."[67] Furthermore, the inability to comprehend the intricacies and contradictions "of the functions of the state in the economy and society" led to an "accommodation" by radicals to a dominant hegemonic order.[68] Kolko's conclusion that hopes for social transformation "now rest outside America and in spite of it"[69] reflects, however, an optimistic transference of the locus of social change. Unfortunately, Americanization in the form of mass consumerism and autocratic technologism are major world forces. The cultural adaptation of hundreds of millions of people to this form of Americanization (in spite of the massive protests of America's nuclear terrorism) underscores the difficulty of sustaining an autonomous cultural identity and radical alternatives when such a socio-cultural givenness is so pervasive. Perhaps we can only now begin to appreciate fully the problems of constructing alternative communities and radical identities. Nevertheless, the task of social and cultural transformation may evince more realism now because there are so few illusions and false hopes left. In that case, this realism owes some of its wisdom and strength to the efforts of individuals like Cohen who spent a considerable portion of their lives in the creation of radical alternatives.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

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NOTES

1. Quoted in Jurgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests,* trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 156. The standard English introduction to Dilthey's theoretical work is Wilhelm Dilthey, *Pattern and Meaning in History,* ed. and intro. by H. P. Rickman (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962).
2. These are Sartre's terms as cited in Stephan Strasser, "Phenomenology and the Human Sciences" in *Phenomenology: The Philosophy of Edmund Husserl and Its Interpretation,* ed. Joseph J. Kockelsman (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1967), p. 508.
3. Zygmunt Bauman, "Marxism and the Contemporary Theory of Culture," *Co-Existence,* 5 (July 1968), pp. 169 and 171.
4. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Search for a Method,* trans. Hazel E. Barnes (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 133. Also see Andre Gorz's explication of Sartre's ideas where he cites a definition of totalization as the "meaning-building process." Gorz, *Socialism and Revolution,* trans. Norman Denny (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1973), p. 243.
5. Karl Marx, "From *The German Ideology*" in *The Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society,* ed. Lloyd D. Easton and Kurt H. Guddat (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1967), p. 432.
6. Antonio Gramsci, the brilliant twentieth century Italian Marxist, referred to this cataloging process as an "inventory." See Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings,* trans. Louis Marks (New York: International Publishers, 1972), p. 59. A critical inventory for Gramsci becomes politically relevant in the historical operation of hegemonies. (More on hegemony later in the text and notes.) Related to this idea of cataloging in its active moment of change is the following conclusion on the nature of "causal primacy:" ". . . changes in culture and social structure are ultimately the product of changes in experience of events which must be made meaningful and to which individuals as members of groups must react." David Rothstein, "Culture Creation and Social Reconstruction: The Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Intergroup Contact," *American Sociological Review,* 37 (December 1972), 673.
7. For an excellent presentation of Freud's scientistic biases, see Richard Wolheim, *Sigmund Freud* (New York: The Viking Press, 1971).
8. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Descriptive Psychology and Historical Understanding,* trans. Richard M. Zaner and Kenneth L. Heiges (The Hague: Martines Nyhoff, 1977), pp. 97–8.
9. On Gramsci's idea of hegemony interpreted as class structured consent, see Gwyn A. Williams, "The Concept of 'Egemonia' in the Thought of Antonio Gramsci: Some Notes and Interpretation," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 21 (October–December, 1960), 586–99; and Carl Boggs, *Gramsci's Marxism* (New York: Urizen, 1976), p. 39. For further comments on hegemony that situate Gramsci's ideas in their political and theoretical frameworks respectively, see John M. Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1971), esp. pp. 204–6 and the extended review of Cammett's book by Eugene Genovese, "On Antonio Gramsci" in *For a New America: Essays in History and Politics from*

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Studies on the Left, 1959–1967, ed. James Weinstein and David W. Eakins (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 284–316.

10. This is the social psychologist Jean Piaget's description of the "mental or memory image" developed in the process of internalization. See Piaget, *Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood,* trans. C. Gattegno and F. M. Hodgson (New York: The Norton Library, 1962), p. 67.
11. Sartre, pp. 85–166, and Habermas, pp. 161–86.
12. Sartre, p. 107.
13. *Ibid.,* p. 153.
14. Habermas, p. 310. For a sympathetic explication of this term and of Habermas' conceptual framework, see Trent Schroyer, "The Dialectical Foundations of Critical Theory: Jurgen Habermas' Metatheoretical Investigations," *Telos,* 12 (Summer 1972), pp. 93–114.
15. Cf. Lucien Goldmann, *The Human Sciences and Philosophy,* trans. Hayden V. White and Robert Anchor (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1969) where Goldmann maintains: "Every manifestation is the work of its individual author and expresses his thought and his way of feeling, but these ways of thinking and feeling are not independent entities with respect to the actions and behaviour of other men. They exist and may be understood only in terms of their intersubjective relations which give them their whole tenor and richness (p. 128)." For another analysis of those taken-for-granted attitudes as they appear through the utilization of symbolic socio-cultural resources, see Bernard Bowron, Leo Marx, and Arnold Rose, "Literature and Covert Culture" in *Studies in American Culture: Dominant Ideas and Images,* ed. Joseph J. Kwiat and Mary C. Turpie (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1960), pp. 84–95.
16. The idea of themes as the basis for cultural identity is derived from Morris Edward Opler, "Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture," *American Journal of Sociology,* 51 (November 1945), 198–206.
17. For an excellent critique of the major literature on the American "national character," see David E. Stannard, "American Historians and the Idea of National Character: Some Problems and Prospects," *American Quarterly,* 23 (May 1971), 202–20. For an analysis which presents a much closer connection between the concepts of national character and identity than I am willing to grant, see Philip Gleason, "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History," *The Journal of American History,* 69 (March 1983), 923–6.
18. For a fairly comprehensive review of the work of the leading American proponents of "basic personality" and childhood determinism theories, see Victor Barnouw, *Culture and Personality* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1963), pp. 105–36. The foremost attempt to apply these psychological theories to an historical analysis of American "character" can be found in David Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), esp. pp. 32–72 and 189–208. For a criticism of Potter's approach, see Stannard, pp. 204–13. An elaboration of the dialectical basis of identity, stressing the dynamic between the individual and society, can be found in Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1967), pp. 173–80.

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19. The basic essay for understanding Erikson's model of developmental psychology is "Eight Ages of Man" in Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), pp. 247–74. Erikson's debt to Freudian psychology is readily ascertainable when comparing his analysis of the early stages of development to Freud's ideas on oral, anal, and genital phases. For the interconnections, see *ibid.*, pp. 48–108. Erikson is particularly influenced by the Freudian perspective in his correlation of male and female identity to the spatial modalities of outer and inner (pp. 97–108). Erikson's concepts are, thus, susceptible to the Freudian error of displacing cultural factors in favor of physiological explanations. For criticism of these Freudian related categories in Erikson, see Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Avon Equinox, 1971), pp. 210–20. For a more positive response to Erikson's interpolation of Freud in the area of ego psychology, see Paul Roazen, *Freud: Political and Social Thought* (New York: Vintage, 1970), pp. 235–7. For a stimulating application of Erikson's developmental model, particularly the second stage of "autonomy vs. shame and doubt," to an historical analysis of early colonial family patterns in America, see John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 129, 138–9, and *passim.*
20. Erikson, pp. 261–3.
21. Erikson, *Young Man Luther* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), p. 22. There is a tendency in this definition and in Erikson's other comments on ideology to naturalize ideology and, thus, to eliminate the significance of the unconscious or non-reflective appropriation of ideas. By naturalizing ideology Erikson obscures the differences between a reflective and non-reflective ideology.
22. Erikson, *Childhood and Society,* p. 285. An elaboration of Erikson's thesis on identity as the dialectic of potentialities and contradiction can be found in Philip Slater, *The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point* (Boston: Beacon, 1971). Slater's framework focuses on the potentialities and contradictions in contemporary American culture between "community and competition," "engagement and uninvolvement," and "dependence and independence" as reflected in the problems of the family, race relations, technology, and youth.
23. Erikson, *Childhood and Society,* pp. 305–6.
24. " 'Psychologism' refers to the attempt to explain social phenomena in terms of facts and theories about the make-up of individuals. Historically, as a doctrine, it rests upon an explicit metaphysical denial of the reality of social structure. At other times, its adherents may set forth a conception of structure which reduces it, so far as explanations are concerned, to a set of milieux. In a still more general way . . . psychologism rests upon the idea that if we study a series of individuals and then milieux, the result of our studies in some way can be added up to knowledge of social structure." C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 67. Earlier in the book, Mills contends that the "sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals (p. 5.)."
25. Daniel Boorstin and Louis Hartz have been the foremost American historians propounding the theories of American uniqueness and exceptionalism. For a critique of their positions, see Marian J. Morton, *The Terrors of Ideological Pol-*

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itics: Liberal Historians in a Conservative Mood (Cleveland: Press of Case-Western Reserve University, 1972), *passim.*

26. Erikson, *Childhood and Society,* p. 304.
27. Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Radical Persuasion, 1890–1917* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), pp. 5, 55–7, and 71–3.
28. For a succint discussion of this struggle over control in work related areas, see James R. Green, *The World of the Worker: Labor in Twentieth Century America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), pp. 67–99. For more extensive explorations of this topic, see David Montgomery, *Workers Control in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), and Richard Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in Twentieth Century America* (New York: Basic Books, 1979). Although the area of play has not received the same attention as work, one particularly incisive study of the role of play in defining American norms can be found in Gary Goodman, *Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979).
29. Erikson suggests the links between an identity crisis and emigration, immigration, and Americanization in his *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), pp. 43–4. For family and individual stories of immigrant identity crises, see Louis Adamic, *From Many Lands* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1940). For the literary connections between identity problems for natives and immigrants, see David M. Fine, *The City, the Immigrant and American Fiction 1880–1920* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977).
30. The seminal study of this conflict between natives and immigrants can be found in John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860–1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1963), esp. pp. 234–63.
31. For a discussion of Anglo-conformity, see Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 88–114. On the motivating factor of fear behind assimilation proponents, see Higham, pp. 234–63.
32. For an analysis of the "melting pot" and "cultural pluralist" theories, see Gordon, pp. 115–59. On the politics of social control, see Christopher Lasch, *The New Radicalism in America, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as Social Type* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), esp. pp. 13–15, 141–80.
33. Higham, pp. 237–8.
34. For an incisive presentation of the development of this corporate hegemony, see James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900–1918* (Boston: Beacon Paperback, 1969).
35. Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, "Americanization and Consumption," *Telos,* 37 (Fall 1978), esp. pp. 46–50. For a more extensive discussion of the development of mass culture and mass consumerism, see Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976).
36. The most comprehensive discussion of state repression during the first part of the twentieth century can be found in William Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903–1933* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1966). For a critique of historians' use of repression as a mono-causal factor for the failure of radicalism, see Kraditor, esp. pp. 14–15. In other sections of her book, Kraditor points out the overemphasis on repression and the underem-

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phasis on the intrinsic failures of radicalism. While she makes a number of telling points, she consistently undervalues the intrusive role of the state in the public and private domain while overvaluing the democratic constancy of corporate liberalism.

37. Joseph J. Cohen, *The House Stood Forlorn* (no place of publication: D. F. Cohen, 1954), p. 13. Further citations from the autobiography will be noted in the text.
38. Janet Varner Gunn, *Autobiography: Toward a Poetics of Experience* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 8.
39. Erikson, *Life History and the Historical Moment,* pp. 127–8. A variation and expansion of Erikson's approach can be found in Albert Stone's contention that "autobiography is, in fact, an overdetermined document; it is simultaneously historical record and literary artifact, psychological case history and spiritual confession, didactic essay and ideological testament." "Introduction" in *The American Autobiography: A Collection of Critical Essays,* ed. Albert E. Stone (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1981), p. 2.
40. See Robert J. Brym, *The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism* (New York: Schocken, 1978), pp. 55–6.
41. For the impact of anarchism on these groups, see Paul Arvich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), esp. pp. 42–3.
42. On the "degree of embeddedness" in the Jewish community as a measure of Jewish-centered radical politics as opposed to universal revolutionary politics, see Brym, pp. 42–6. On anarchist circles in Grodno and elsewhere in the Pale, see Avrich, *passim.* On the significance of the psychosocial moratorium as the critical step to psychosocial mature identity, see Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), pp. 156–8.
43. Erikson, *Childhood and Society,* pp. 255–61.
44. Studies of the anarchist movement in America and individual American anarchists that illuminate this alternative culture can be found in the following: William O. Reichert, *Partisans of Freedom: A Study of American Anarchism* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976); David DeLeon, *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Paul Avrich, *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Laurence Veysey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Communities in Twentieth Century America,* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), pp. 77–177; Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman* (New York: Bantam, 1973); and Paul Avrich, *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978). For an interesting use of Erikson's psychosocial development theories in analyzing the ideology of Alexander Berkman, see Thomas P. Doherty, "American Autobiography and Ideology," in Stone, pp. 95–108.
45. See Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* (New York: Touchstone Book, 1976), pp. 61–2.
46. For further discussion of the role of Jewish immigrants in radical and trade union politics, see Howe, pp. 287–359; Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962),

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pp. 148–94, 224–28, and 243–57; and Melvyn Dubofsky, *When Workers Organize: New York City in the Progressive Era* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968), esp. pp. 34–8.

47. Avrich, *An American Anarchist,* p. 6. De Cleyre was also moved by her experiences in the ghetto since she remarked later to a friend that her Jewish comrades were "the most liberal minded and active comrades in the movement, as well as the most transcendental dreamers (p. 76)."
48. For Erikson's theories on intimacy and generativity, see *Childhood and Society,* pp. 266–8. On the revolutionary role of the radical immigrant in general, see Sally M. Miller, *The Radical Immigrant* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974), pp. 20 and 146.
49. Avrich, *The Modern School Movement,* p. 116. Also see Veysey where Cohen is portrayed as combining "down-to-earth qualities with high-mindedly idealistic ones." p. 108.
50. Cf. *American Utopianism,* ed. Robert Fogarty (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1972), ix. Also see De Leon, *passim.*
51. Avrich, *An American Anarchist,* xviii.
52. Avrich, *The Modern School Movement,* pp. 111–64.
53. On the distinction between cultural and political radicalism, see Veysey, p. 52. On the variant and parallel strains of political and cultural radicalism in the Progressive Era, see Lasch, xiv–xvi.
54. On the Ferrer Center's connection to Dewey, see Avrich, *The Modern School Movement,* pp. 38 and 162. On Dewey's instrumentalism and its link to the politics of social control, see Lasch, pp. 159–63.
55. Quoted in Avrich, *The Modern School Movement,* pp. 228–9.
56. For a more comprehensive history of the Stelton Colony, see *ibid.,* pp. 219–311 and Veysey, pp. 77–177.
57. Veysey, p. 117.
58. Kraditor, p. 78. For a more specific discussion of the assimilation and taming of Jewish radicals in the 1920's, see Joseph Brandes, *Immigrants to Freedom: Jewish Communities in Rural New Jersey Since 1882* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971), pp. 269–310. On segmentation as a key to American society, see Robert H. Wiebe, *The Segmented Society: An Introduction to the Meaning of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).
59. Higham, p. 254.
60. On the history of the Yiddish press, which unfortunately slights the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme,* see Howe, pp. 518–551. On the role of Yiddish language and the press, see Rischin, pp. 115–30. On the loss of Yiddish as a distinctive culture, see Joshua A. Fishman, *Yiddish in America: Socio-Linguistic Description And Analysis* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1956), pp. 14, 48–9, and 70–71.
61. Cohen, *In Quest of Heaven: The Story of the Sunrise Cooperative Farm Community* (New York: Sunrise History Publishing Committee, 1959), p. 1. Further references will be cited in the text.
62. Avrich, *The Modern School Movement,* pp. 181–2.
63. See Richard H. Pells, *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973) pp. 96–150.

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64. Cf. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in Sociological Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 64–74.
65. Pells, p. 147.
66. Veysey, p. 173. A more complete and sympathetic discussion of Cohen's last years can be found in Avrich, *The Modern School Movement,* pp. 347–9.
67. Kolko in Weintein and Eakins, p. 198.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 202. Although Kolko's charges of naivete and accommodation are leveled at socialism, anarchism also manifests a simple-mindedness about the role of the state.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

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Bibliography of Works about Life-Writing for the Mid-1980's[1]

The current bent of life-writing has been toward greater subjectivity and speculation. The publication of edited diary collections indicates a growing interest in how the "every man and woman" perceive themselves, their own particular cultural and historical situation, and the world at large. Social scientists and literary theorists are recording and assessing the oral histories of lesser known minority representatives. Occupational practitioners are beginning to treat their constituency as subjects rather than objects. Researchers are gaining insight into the evolution of the psychological and creative self, especially during childhood, by reading texts of lives and lives in texts.

By choosing subjects with whom they can readily identify, authors are finding that the process of reconstructing a life can enlighten their own quests for self-discovery. Some critics believe it will become increasingly more difficult or even undesirable to write "definitive" or official life-works if biographers continue to view the lives of others as reflections of their own.

How all these trends will influence the craft and study of life-writing in the future is anybody's guess.

[1] Continuation of the bibliography which appeared in *Biography* 8.4 (1985): 353–55.

DISSERTATIONS (COMPLETED IN 1984 AND 1985)

Abinader, Elmaz. "Letters from Home: Stories of Fathers and Sons." *DAI* 46 (1986): 3028A. U. of Nebraska. Shows the ways in which personal narratives provide historical commentary on public events such as wars, famines, plagues, inventions, and births of nations.

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Adams, Charles S. "Self-Absorbing History: Henry Adams and the Problem of Literary Form." *DAI* 45 (1985): 3349A. U. of Washington. Analysis of how autobiography can provide an "aesthetic" treatment of history in the Emersonian literary tradition.

Alexander, Estella C. "Tell Them So You'll Know." *DAI* 45 (1985): 2153A. U. of Iowa. Autobiography viewed as a confrontation and an attempt to reconcile the present self and memory of the past self.

Allan, DeWitt C. "Patterned Lives: Social Roles and the Self in Early English Biography." *DAI* 45 (1985): 2880A. U. of California. Demonstrates the ways in which biographies from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance are as "realistic" as modern biographies, especially in terms of style.

Allister, Mark C. "Big Encounters with Unimagined Existence: Documentary and Autobiography in Recent American Prose." *DAI* 46 (1986): 3717A. U. of Washington. Construction of a new genre fusing documentary and autobiography in the works of Agee, Mailer, and Barich.

Barros, Carolyn O. "Autobiographical Transformation in Victorian England: Religious, Philosophicial, Scientific." *DAI* 46 (1985): 156A. U. of Texas. Posits a heuristic for investigating autobiography that deals with its nature and method, focusing on rhetorical elements as well as configurations of language and images.

Boyd, Richard B. "Three Generations of Puritan Spiritual Autobiography: Problems of Self-Definition in a Time of Declension." *DAI* 46 (1985): 701A. U. of California. Examines the New England Puritans' obsession with the self and private identity in spiritual autobiographies written during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Bullitt, Margaret M. "Voice of Generation, Generation of a Voice: Childhood in Herzen's *Byloe I Dumy.*" *DAI* 45 (1985): 2091A. Harvard U. Traces Herzen's discovery of his "voice" in autobiographical accounts from the author's childhood.

Burt, Raymond L. "The Pietist Autobiography and Goethe's *Lehrjahre:* An Examination of the Emergence of the German Bildungsroman." *DAI* 46 (1986) : 2704A. U. of California. Shows to what extent the Bildungsroman was influenced by the Pietist autobiography.

Cafarelli, Annette. "Narrative, Sequence, and Biography: Johnson and Romantic Prose." *DAI* 46 (1986): 2697–8A. Princeton U. Addresses the objectives and methods of Romantic prose by examining biography, a dominant Romantic prose form.

Comfort, Mary S. "The Literary Styles of Four Women Diarists of the American Revolution." *DAI* 46 (1985): 1625A. Lehigh U. Focuses on literary strategies that express the relationship between the diarist and the war.

Conner, Thomas S. " 'Exil et autobiographie. Lectures theoriques et pratiques' (French Text)." *DAI* 46 (1986): 3368A. Yale U. Reflections on the spirit of exile in autobiographical writing utilizing the writings of Philippe Lejeune and Chateaubriand.

Danvers, Rebecca W. "The Charles B. Moore Collection: Interpretation and Annotation." *DAI* 46 (1985): 1718–9A. U. of Texas. Reviews research using personal documents with attention given to appropriate methodology and analytical cautions.

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Davis, Christian R. "The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century American Evangelical Autobiography." *DAI* 46 (1986): 2691A. Pennsylvia State U. Analysis of evangelical autobiography in terms of "micro, meso, and macro-structures."

Feal, Rosemary G. "Autobiography and Fiction: Cabrera Infante's *La Habana para un Infante Difunto* and Vargas Llosa's *La tia Julia y el Escribidor.*" *DAI* 45 (1985): 2540A. State U. of New York. Discusses the problems of autobiographical enunciation within the modern tradition of self-conscious autobiography presented as fiction.

Griffin, Dorothy G. "The Eighteenth Century Draytons of Drayton Hall." *DAI* 46 (1986): 2789A. Emory U. Shows how a family house can become a symbolic reflection of the person whose imagination and creativity conceived and built it.

Hansen, Lesley A. "The Frightful Reformation: Victorian Doubt and the Personal Novel of Religious Unconversion." *DAI* 46 (1985): 157–8A. Columbia U. Examines the emergence of the personal creed as a literary form which tells of the writer's quarrel with inherited religion.

Hanson, Krista L. "Writing a Path to Health: Autobiography and Autotherapy in Zoščenko's Work." *DAI* 46 (1986): 2710–1A. U. of California. How one writer comes to terms with mental illness through autobiographical self-analysis.

Hazlett, John B. "Self and History: Essays on American Historiography and Autobiography." *DAI* 46 (1985): 424A. U. of Iowa. Explores the relationship between identity and history in American historiographical and autobiographical writing.

Henderson, Gordon. "Specimens of Contemporary Irish Literary Biography." *DAI* 46 (1985): 706A. U. of Delaware. Presents two approaches to literary biography: the biographical-critical essay and the literary interview.

Hudson, Judith Anne. "Recollection and Reconstruction in Children's Autobiographic Memory." *DAI* 45 (1985): 3641B. U. of New York. Shows how autobiographic memories of children are conceived of as the products of constructive memory process.

Huff, Cynthia Anne. "In Their Own Images: A Study of Nineteenth-Century British Women's Manuscript Diaries." *DAI* 45 (1985): 2111A. U. of Iowa. Discusses the role of the diary in nineteenth century British life, analyzing form, content, and style. Includes descriptive bibliography (see books).

Jacobs, Margaret E. G. "Swordsman, Saint, or Prophet—'Is That, Perhaps, the Sole Theme?' Yeats's Shaping of Autobiography into Prophecy through Creation of a Personal Myth." *DAI* 46 (1985): 1634A. Emory U. Shows how Yeats as an autobiographical poet-prophet utilized images from his personal experience to formulate a cosmic myth of human destiny.

Johnson, Isaac J., III. "The Autobiography of Jean Toomer: An Edition." *DAI* 46 (1985): 702A. Purdue U. Shows how Toomer's extensive autobiographical writings served as a means of psychological self-evaluation.

Kearns, Sheila M. "Writing the Self: A Study of Romantic Autobiography." *DAI* 45 (1985): 2886A. U. of California. Examines how the autobiographical writings of British Romantic poets are structured by an autobiographical impulse that appears to operate in all writing.

Krumrine, Mary Louise E. "Cézanne's Bathers: Autobiographical Origins of Form and Content." *DAI* 46 (1985): 287A. Pennsylvania State U. Systematically

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studies how the bathers present a picture of Cézanne's personality which closely parallels his artistic development.

Larson, Wendy Ann. "Autobiographies of Chinese Writers in the Early Twentieth Century." *DAI* 46 (1985): 986A. U. of California. Postulates two types of textual authorization in Chinese autobiographies—one "impressionistic" or atemporal and the other "circumstantial" or world-related.

MacLeod, William A. "Sevket Süreyya Aydemir, Modern Turkish Biographer." *DAI* 45 (1985): 2123A. U. of Michigan. Study of the westernization of a Turkish biographer as he attempts to probe the private lives of public figures.

Mairs, Nancy. "Plaintext: Deciphering a Woman's Life." *DAI* 46 (1985): 137A. U. of Arizona. Explores several premises about Western culture in order to illuminate the difficulties encountered by the female autobiographer in creating her life/text.

Malde, Susan R. "Guided Autobiography: A Counseling and Educational Program for Older Adults." *DAI* 46 (1985): 964B. U. of California. Evaluates the effectiveness of a Guided Autobiography program in which the life review concept was used in counseling and educating older adults.

McCann, Richard J. " 'Border Town' (Original Writing)." *DAI* 46 (1985):455A. U. of Iowa. Presentation of an original work which transcends the borders which traditionally seperate poetry, autobiography, historical narration, and literary/cultural criticism.

Meiners, Mary L. S. "The Meaning of Privacy as Revealed by Systematic Diary Reports." *DAI* 46 (1986): 4454B. Georgia State U. Explores the nature of privacy and the loss of privacy in journals written by subjects recruited from the general population and community college students.

Molstad, Mary M. F "Images of Self: the Jamesian Heroine as Reflector of Personal History." *DAI* 46 (1985): 1628A. Kent State U. Traces the ways in which James's protagonists provided a fictionalized record of the author's autobiographical concerns.

Pauly, Rebecca M. " 'L'Autrebiographie: A Study of the Structure of Identity in Writing' (French Text)." *DAI* 45 (1985): 303A. Middlebury College. Studies the functional coordinates and frontiers of "autobiographical space" in the works of eight European writers.

Rosenberg, John R. " 'Los Peregrinos sin Destino': The Confessional Narrative in Spain." *DAI* 46 (1986): 1963–4A. Cornell U. Study of the quest romance structure of fall, exile, and redemption in the Spanish confessional autobiography.

Stewart, Tony K. "The Biographical Images of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya: A Study in the Perception of Divinity." *DAI* 46 (1986): 2721A. U. of Chicago. Shows how the images of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya are manipulated and incorporated into the sixteenth century Bengali and Sanskrit biographical tradition.

Tiechert, Marylyn C. "A Healing Art: Autobiography and the Poetics of Crisis." *DAI* 45 (1985): 3130A. Princeton U. Discusses how autobiography provides a way of recovering from crisis and restructuring reality, becoming a kind of healing or regenerative art form.

Tuck, Sherrie Ann. "The Form and Function of Sayings-Material in Hellenistic Biographies of Philosophers." *DAI* 46 (1986): 1975A. Harvard U. Biographical study of sayings-material in Hellenistic and New Testament gospels as they relate in terms of their form and function.

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Unger, Myra C. "The Treatment of Childhood in Autobiographies of Twentieth Century American Women." *DAI* 46 (1985): 917A. U. of Kansas. Comprehensive study of over one hundred biographies written by twentieth century American women to determine which early influences helped to shape the female self, her attitudes, and her views.

Whitehead, Jane K. "Biography and Formula in Roman Sarcophagi." *DAI* 46 (1985): 737A. Yale U. Explores the "biographical" and "career" information which is communicated through the medium of Roman monumental art or sarcophagi.

Wojciehowski, Dolora Ann. "The Ransoming of Will in the Rhetoric of Confession." *DAI* 46 (1986): 1934A. Yale U. Evaluates the convention of self-representation and the notion of the transcendent self in five confessional works.

PERIODICALS, ARTICLES, AND REVIEWS

a/b Auto/Biographical Studies. Vol. 1 (1985).

Albright, Daniel. "Virginia Woolf as Autobiographer." *Kenyon Review* 6.4 (1984): 1–17. Explores Woolf's mode of autobiographical writing showing how the authorial presence is often difficult to locate and identify since at times it appears nondescript, screened, or even missing from the text.

Baker, John F. "PW Interviews: Meryle Secrest." *Publishers Weekly* 11 Jan. 1985: 73–74. The biographer of Kenneth Clark tells why it is often easier to write of the dead than of the living (see R. B. Woodward's article).

Bell, Millicent. "The Essence of the Master." Rev. of *Henry James: A Life,* by Leon Edel. *The New York Times Book Review* 24 Nov. 1985: 12. Bell examines Edel's revision of his biography of Henry James, asking whether, in fact, it is possible or even desirable to write a definitive life-work given the amount of personal speculation which is inherent in the art of biography.

Bernstein, Jeremy. "Out of Mind . . . The Merely Personal." *American Scholar* 54 (1985): 295–302. Investigation of the flood of confessional "scientific" biographies and autobiographies which have been written since the publication of Watson's *The Double Helix.*

Bibliographie des études en langue française sur la littérature personnelle et les récits de vie; II:1984–1985. According to a phone conversation with Philippe Lejeune, his bibliography for 1984–85 should appear in print some time in December.

Biography: an Interdisciplinary Quarterly. Vol. 8 (1985). Articles published in 1985 are listed in the Index in this issue.

Blishen, Edward. "The Perils of Autobiography." *Encounter* June 1984: 6–10. Blishen, an autobiographer who has written nine books to date, discusses the fine lines between real life and fiction.

Campbell, John. "For Posterity. . . ." *History Today* April 1985: 56–58. By comparing the diaries of two former British Cabinet Ministers, Campbell demonstrates that public officials may agree on the major issues of political history, but when it comes to the details, the subjective record may tell quite a different tale.

Carr, Jean Ferguson. "Dickens and Autobiography: A Wild Beast and His Keeper." *ELH:* 52.2 (1985): 447–69. Carr compares Dickens, the writer, to a wild beast who felt safe to take autobiographical risks within the fictive construct although Dickens, the man, tended to cautiously guard his personal life.

Chadwick, Roxane. "Writing Biographies for Young People." *Writer* Sept. 1985: 16–19, 45. Chadwick describes the challenges of choosing biographical subjects

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which will both interest and please children and which will in some way make an original contribution to the storehouse of children's books already in print.

Collins, William B. "A Playwright Turns to Byron's Story." *Philadelphia Inquirer* 23 Feb. 1986: 1F, 11F. Describes how a contemporary playwright, Romulus Linney, identified with Byron's life-story and wrote a new and controversial play which mixed interpretive fact with theatrical fiction.

Edel, Leon. "Biography and the Sexual Revolution-Why Curiosity is No Longer Vulgar." *The New York Times Book Review* 24 Nov. 1985: 13–14. Edel surveys how the sexual revolution has enabled biographers to become more candid in their treatment of subjects' lives.

Gelfant, Blanche H. " 'Lives' of Women Writers: Cather, Austin, Porter/and Willa, Mary, Katherine Anne." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 18.1 (1984): 64–80. Raises the issue as to whether women's autobiography differs significantly in form and content from the life stories men have traditionally told.

Griffin, William. "Flashing: The Art of The Biographer." *Publishers Weekly* 29 Nov. 1985: 21–23. Griffin, the biographer of C. S. Lewis, explores the complexities of biographical theory, a subject on which (much to his surprise) he, too, can expound.

Jones, Lawrence. "The One Story, Two Ways of Telling, Three Perspectives: Recent New Zealand Autobiography." *Ariel* Oct. 1985: 127–50. Discusses the New Zealand autobiographer's struggle to find a "place" in a hostile provincial environment, a struggle which can be told realistically or impressionistically.

Kaplan, Deborah. "The Disappearance of the Woman Writer: Jane Austen and Her Biographers." *Prose Studies* Sept. 1984: 129–45. Kaplan believes that all of Austen's writings, both public and private, need to be assessed in order to better understand her domestic and cultural situation as a woman living and writing in a patriarchal age.

Kimball, Roger. "Painting on the Edge of Madness." Rev. of *To a Violent Grave: An Oral Biography of Jackson Pollock,* by Jeffrey Potter. *The New Times Book Review* 2 Feb. 1986: 15. Kimbel discredits Potter's technique of "oral biography," calling it "an exercise in gossip" which deals in trivia and vindictiveness.

Merrett, Robert James. "The Conduct of Spiritual Autobiography in *Jane Eyre.*" *Renascence* 37.1 (1984): 2–15. Discusses the ways in which Brontë utilizes the themes of the spiritual autobiography without actually making use of that genre's structure.

Miller, Michael Vincent. "Abridged from 17 Million Words." Rev. of *The Inman Diary: A Public and Private Confession,* ed. by Daniel Aaron. *The New Times Book Review* 6 Oct. 1985: 3, 45. Miller discusses why the edited Inman diaries are a valuable personal and social autobiographical document (see D. Aaron, books).

Minnich, Elizabeth Kamarck. "Friendship Between Women: The Act of Feminist Biography." *Feminist Studies* 11.2 (1985): 287–305. According to Minnich, when women read and write about other women's lives, they are not necessarily looking for role models as much as they are seeking out female comrades and friends.

Nadel, Ira Bruce. "Autobiography as Fiction: The Example of Pater's *Marius.*" *English Literature in Transition* 27.1 (1984): 34–40. Nadel views Pater's autobiographical fiction as representative of the way in which Victorians were able to explore the self and still maintain their sense of personal privacy.

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———. "*Canada Made Me* and Canadian Autobiography." *Canadian Literature: Litterature Canadienne* 101 (1984): 69–81. Although there is a tradition of historical and social commentary in Canadian autobiography, Nadel makes mention of several books in which self-inquiry is of primary concern.

Olney, James. " 'I Was Born': Slave Narratives." *Callaloo* 7.1 (1984): 46–73. An attempt to determine the place of the slave narrative in the spectrum of autobiographical writing, in the history of American literature, and in the making of an Afro-American literary tradition.

Peterson, Linda H. "Newman's *Apologia pro vita sua* and the Traditions of the English Spiritual Autobiography." *PMLA* May 1985: 300–14. Discussion of Newman's conscious intention to shape his personal history on two models from the spiritual autobiographical tradition—the first English and Protestant, the other Augustinian and Catholic.

Porter, Roy. "The Patient's View: Doing Medical History from Below." *Theory and Society: Renewal and Critique in Social Theory* March 1985: 175–98. Since the sufferer's role in history has been traditionally ignored by scholars, Porter offers methods and approaches toward developing an alternative history of medicine based on patients' autobiographical accounts (see books).

Rifkind, Donna. "The Hidden Trunk." Rev. of *Hawthorne's Secret: An Un-Told Tale,* by Phillip Young. *American Scholar* 54 (1985): 563–67. Rifkind criticizes biographers like Young who choose to evaluate a person's life and work on the basis of a single event or "secret" (such as the evidence of incest in Hawthorne's family which might have prompted him to write *The Scarlet Letter*).

Shaw, Peter. "All in the Family: A Psychobiography of the Adamses." *American Scholar* 54 (1985): 501–15. Shaw shows how a family biographical portrait can be drawn by tracing psychological tendencies over successive generations.

Shelston, Alan. "Biography and Criticism." *Critical Quarterly* 27.1 (1985): 71–75. Compares "academic biography" (which emulates Victorian forms, divorcing biography from criticism) and "Empsonian biography" (which seeks to understand the feelings of an author, providing a means for better understanding his or her writings).

Smelstor, Majorie. "A Hall of Mirrors: Modern Autobiography and the Process of Creating the Self." *Prose Studies* Dec. 1984: 240–49. Autobiography viewed as a process of revealing a mulifaceted self which responds to and interacts with its authorial self, its immediate environment, the social community at large, and the audience-readership.

Stanford, Derek. "Mythology, Myth, Biography: A Question of Subject-Matter-III." *The Statesman: Week-End Review* 10 Aug. 1985. Stanford discusses the relative merits of choosing mythological and biographical figures in works of poetry.

Woodward, Richard B. "The 'Vasari' Diary: Civilisation and Its Discontents." *Art News* April 1985: 14, 180. Interview with Meryle Secrest, who discusses the dubious privilege of being an "official" biographer and the perils of presenting the private side of public figures (see J. F. Baker's article).

Ziegler, Philip. "The Lore of Gossip, The Rules of History." *The New York Times Book Review* 23 Feb. 1986: 1, 34–35. Ziegler asserts that it is getting increasingly harder for the contemporary biographer to apply the objective rules and criteria of history to his or her craft given the subjective nature of the materials to which he or she has access, such as oral sources.

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BOOKS

Aaron, Daniel, ed. *The Inman Diary: A Public and Private Confession.* 2 Vols. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1985. Adroitly edited version of Arthur Crew Inman's personal diaries (some 155 in all) which form not only an epic record of the author's preoccupations and pathologies, but also a cultural history of American life (see M. V. Miller's review, periodicals).

Abbott, H. Porter. *Diary Fiction: Writing as Action.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984. According to Abbott, the unique advantage of fiction in the diary mode is its capacity to explore the reflexive action of first person narration by giving writing itself a role in the plot.

Ballard, George. *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain Who Have Been Celebrated for Their Writings or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences.* Ed. Ruth Perry. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1985. Originally published in 1752, this book has been recognized as a standard scholarly source on learned English women of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Banks, Olive. *The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists, Vol. One: 1800–1930.* Brighton: Harvester, 1985. "First of its kind" compilation of British women, both known and unknown, who have contributed to feminism.

Baron, Samuel H., and Carl Pletsch, eds. *Introspection in Biography: The Biographer's Quest for Self-Awareness.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Analytic, 1985. Series of twelve essays offering an individual and group portrait of the biographical enterprise. Followup to the conference on "The Psychology of Biography" (Chapel Hill, Nov. 12–14, 1981).

Bataille, Gretchen M., and Kathleen Mullen Sands. *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1984. Shifting attitudes in the Indian women's perspective are viewed in terms of an oral tradition and a tradition of European-American autobiography.

Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven Tipton. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1985. A sociological research project whose approach is narrative and biographical, drawing on interviews with over 200 people, with statistical data largely relegated to abundant endnotes. By following the stories of a couple dozen of their subjects who come to represent the totality, the authors are able to investigate white, middle-class American life style and thought patterns.

Breitwieser, Mitchell Robert. *Cotton Mather and Benjamin Franklin: The Price of Representative Personality.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984. Although the subjects are viewed in a historical continuum, the primary concern is the interiority of both men and the distinctive ways each asserted the self.

Bryan, George B., comp. *Stage Lives: A Bibliography and Index to Theatrical Biographies in English.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985. Comprehensive research tool which includes entries dated 534 B.C. to the present and representing figures from all continents except Africa.

Buckley, Jerome Hamilton. *The Turning Key: Autobiography and the Subjective Impulse Since 1800.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984. Deals with the function of autobiography rather than with a definition of its form and the "subjective impulse" of the writer to display the self to an audience.

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Buss, Fran Leeper, comp. *Dignity: Lower Income Women Tell of Their Lives and Struggles.* Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1985. Holistic treatment of working women based on ten oral histories.

Carlen, Pat, ed. *Criminal Women: Autobiographical Accounts.* Cambridge, Eng.: Polity, 1985. Carlen makes use of four autobiographical accounts to refute the sociological assumption that women criminals are innately deviant, pointing out that women, either divorced or single (with or without children), continue to be victimized by society and its system of laws and correction.

Carter, Jan. Afterword. *A Fortunate Life.* By A. B. Facey. New York: Viking, 1984. 333–39. Writing in an oral tradition similar to that of Bunyan, Facey's autobiographical story-telling about Australia is representive of a time uninfluenced by electronic media when myth and real life were one and the same.

Charmé, Stuart L. *Meaning and Myth in the Study of Lives: A Sartrean Perspective.* Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1984. Focusing on the work of Jean-Paul Sartre, Charmé deals with the autobiographical/biographical dimension of the question "How can one determine and describe the meaning of a person's life?"

Coe, Richard N. *When the Grass Was Taller: Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1984. Coe defines an independent genre with its own history, laws, and conventions: the autobiography of childhood and adolescence.

Culley, Margo, ed. *A Day at a Time: Being the Diary Literature of American Women from 1796 to the Present.* New York: Feminist Press, 1985. Women's diaries viewed as sharing common themes of love, work, travel, war, and politics.

Derrida, Jacques. *The Ear of the Other: Otobiography, Transference, Translation.* Ed. Christie V. McDonald. Trans. Peggy Kamuf. New York: Schocken Books, 1985. Based on meetings held at the Univ. of Montreal (Oct. 22–24, 1979), Derrida deals with Nietzsche's writings in order to discuss the structure of the ear (as a perceiving organ), autobiography, and interpretation.

Duncan, Erika. *Unless Soul Clap Its Hands: Portraits and Passages.* New York: Schocken Books, 1984. Impressionistic portraits about individual writers which explore the relationship between art and life, based on five years of phone interviews, short meetings with authors, reading, and reflection.

Eakin, Paul John. *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self Invention.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985. Argues that autobiographical truth is not a fixed but evolving content in a process of self-discovery and creation, and that the self is a fictive structure whose sources are both psychological and cultural.

Egan, Susanna. *Patterns of Experience in Autobiography.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1984. Using the writings of 19th century writers as her springboard, Egan concludes that autobiography is fictive in the way it conveys personal truths through archetypal forms.

Finney, Brian. *The Inner I: British Literary Autobiography of the Twentieth Century.* London: Faber and Faber, 1985. Examines the nature of autobiographic truth, focusing on the relationship between autobiography and fact, fiction, comedy, parental influence, childhood, dreams and social conditioning.

Fleming, Margaret, and Jo McGinnis, eds. *Portraits: Focusing on Biography and Autobiography in the Secondary School.* Urbana, Ill.: NCTE, 1985. Authors demonstrate how sociological, formal, psychological, historical, moral/philosophical,

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linguistic, archetypal, and rhetorical approaches can be applied to any biography or autobiography.

Forster, Margaret. *Significant Sisters: The Grassroots of Active Feminism, 1839–1939.* London: Secker and Warburg, 1984. Feminism viewed not as a single cohesive movement, but as a kind of philosophy or way of looking at life which can be seen in terms of the lives and deeds of individual women.

Franklin, Penelope, ed. *Private Pages: Diaries of American Women, 1830's to 1970's.* New York: Ballantine, 1986. Introduction discusses editor's methods of selection and suggests that throughout history, women have had to cope with many of the same expectations, disappointments, and stresses of daily living.

Hoffman, Leonore, and Margo Culley, eds. *Women's Personal Narratives: Essays in Criticism and Pedagogy,* New York: MLA, 1985. Contributors analyze letters, diaries, and oral testimonies to suggest the possibilities for approaching these materials as literature and describe the pedagogy for introducing them into the classroom.

Holmes, Richard. *Footsteps: Adventures of a Romantic Biographer.* New York: Viking, 1985. Self-portrait of the biographer as detective and adventurer in pursuit not only of source material, but also of firsthand knowledge of the subject's haunts and habits.

Huff, Cynthia. *British Women's Diaries: A Descriptive Bibliography of Selected Nineteenth-Century Women's Manuscript Diaries.* New York: AMS, 1985. Published bibliography based on thesis research conducted in 1984 (see dissertations).

Kotre, John. *Outliving the Self: Generativity and the Interpretation of Lives.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984. Using a life-historical method, Kotre proposes a theory of generativity which describes how the process of "life-storytelling" can be viewed in terms of the contraceptive and demographic revolutions.

Larsen, Lyle. *As Others Saw Them: Observations of Eminent Literary Figures by Their Contemporaries.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1985. Focuses on "intimate biography" or firsthand observations and accounts of well-known literary figures taken from the life-writing of their contemporaries.

Lomask, Milton. *The Biographer's Craft: Practical Advice on Gathering, Writing, Shaping and Polishing Biographical Material.* New York: Harper and Row, 1986. Lomask sets forth the wide variety of techniques available to a biographer and suggests ways of using them.

Lyons, Robert, ed. *Autobiography: A Reader for Writers.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford UP, 1984. Uses autobiographical writings to teach students various writing skills and uses the selections to create a transition to different forms of academic writing.

Martens, Lorna. *The Diary Novel.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985. Discusses the diary novel as an important subgenre of the first-person novel and traces its history from the 18th century to the present.

Meyers, Jeffrey, ed. *The Craft of Literary Biography.* London: Macmillan, 1985. Describes the problems of writing a modern literary biography from thirteen different viewpoints.

Morantz, Regina Markell, Cynthia Stodola Pomerleau, and Carol Hansen Fenichel, eds. *In Her Own Words: Oral Histories of Women Physicians.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1985. Paperback version of 1982 text which explores the profound changes in the nature of women's participation in the health-care field over the past few decades.

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North, Roger. *General Preface and Life of Dr. John North.* Ed. Peter Millard. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984. Edition of selected biographical writings by Roger North (late seventeenth, early eighteenth century English gentleman), including commentary on North's theories of biography.

Novarr, David. *The Lines of Life: Theories of Biography, 1880 to 1970.* West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue UP, 1986. A descriptive and analytic review, mainly chronological, of the general theory and criticism of biography.

Porter, Roy, ed. *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985. Porter makes use of life-writing source material (diaries and correspondence) to help construct his historical study of medicine from the patients' point of view.

Robinson, Doris. *Women Novelists, 1891–1920: An Index to Biographical and Autobiographical Sources.* New York: Garland, 1984. Research tool which identifies English-language life-writing works as well as obituary notices for turn of the century women novelists.

Rose, Phyllis. *Writing of Women: Essays in a Renaissance.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan UP, 1985. Rose has selected nineteen critical and biographical essays to celebrate a modern "golden age" of writing by and about women.

Selleck, R. J .W., and Martin Sullivan, eds. *Not So Eminent Victorians.* Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne UP, 1984. The editors believe that the lives of less than eminent Victorian teachers are worth retelling because their concerns anticipate many of the issues facing contemporary educators.

Sterling, Dorothy, ed. *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Norton, 1985. Narrative of Black women's history told through oral interviews, diary excerpts, letters, memoirs, and articles.

Stull, Heidi I. *The Evolution of the Autobiography from 1770–1850: A Comparative Study and Analysis.* New York: Peter Lang, 1985. Examines representative autobiographies which herald or reflect new trends and developments in literature (especially the emergence of the novel) and shows how these factors along with the autobiographer's changing objectives modified the genre until it eventually moved toward an identity crisis.

Todd, Janet, ed. *A Dictionary of British and American Women Writers: 1660–1800.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1984. In the introduction, Todd discusses the problem of compiling a dictionary of female writers in a period of literature in which there is relatively little scholarship on women.

Westwater, Martha. *The Wilson Sisters: A Biographical Study of Upper Middle-Class Victorian Life.* Athens, Ohio: Ohio UP, 1984. The biographies of six sisters (daughters of a member of Parliament) could easily be dismissed; however, their collective life-story reflects the conflicts of the Victorian Age and the force of antifeminist thought among upper-class women.

White, Isobel, Diane Barwick, and Betty Meehan, eds. *Fighters and Singers: The Lives of Some Australian Aboriginal Women.* Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985. Individual reminiscences of Aboriginal women who have recounted their past experiences to anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, linguists, and ethnomusicologists. Every attempt is made to retain those pieces of genealogical and community-related information which form an intrinsic part of the Aboriginal style of narration.

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Rejoinder

In the following letter, Ira B. Nadel rebuts Grant Webster's recent review of his book. Webster's review appears in the Summer 1986 issue of Biography.

If criticism is the highest form of flattery, I am pleased that Grant Webster discovered so many things to say about my book. Of course, what he has to say is often misleading but, like the English reviewer who could not decide whether to label my study revisionist, formalist, structuralist or—in frustration—deconstructionist, Webster's comments reveal an attentive although unsympathetic response.

This is to be expected, however, by those readers of biography who place their faith in fact alone and resist the temptations presented in the text by language, narration or tropes. In my study I do not suggest as Vivian does in "The Decay of Lying" that "if something cannot be done to check . . . our monstrous worship of facts, Art will become sterile, and Beauty will pass away from the land," but I do argue that language distorts, narration alters and tropes modify the presentation of fact. Just as history cannot provide a faithful and unmediated reconstruction of the past, neither can biography. Shaping a life is the availability, arrangement, interpretation and confirmation of information—as well as the language of the biographer and his conception of the subject.

The purpose of my study is not to establish a prescriptive model for biography, nor to argue for "fictionalized biography"—Webster's distorting term—but to identify the unavoidable presence of fictional ele-

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ments in all biographical writing. This feature is indigenous to all narrative discourse. My central thesis is not "biography ought to be more fictional" but that it *is* more fictional than readers and critics have admitted. Simply stated, my goal is not a new model for biography but a new model for reading biography. Furthermore, recognizing the presence of invention in biography alters our sense of the genre which affects both its understanding and composition. No longer can biography be accepted as objective, reportorial or even authoritative because its mode of discourse undermines or at least qualifies such a function. A consequence of this realization is the intermingling of forms within the frame of the biographical text.

I do not suggest, in the loaded language of Webster, that "factual biographies are bad in the sense that they are dated" but that they are inadequate because they can never present the objective account they propose. The process of selection, availability of data, method of composition and language of the biographer prevent this. In an age where it is difficult to tell whether or not the event or its representation has priority, we must be conscious of the necessity of fiction to comprehend our complex reality. In Leon Edel's words, this means that the "task and duty of biographical narrative is to sort out themes and patterns, not dates and mundane calendar events" (*Writing Lives,* p. 30). We must not forget that events occur in one order but may be narrated in another. There is, as Donald P. Spence demonstrated, historical truth and narrative truth. Furthermore, although the status of an historical event has a different category of reality than an imagined one, their status is the same in a narrative. Biography ineluctably involves fictional structures both as an element of organization and as an aspect of language. The effect of beginnings, plot sequence, characterization, suspense, theme and symbolic patternings are as conscious to the biographer as they are to the novelist.

This is neither negative nor a paradox. And it is not new, as chapters 4 and 5 show. The presence of fictionalizing elements in biography, initiated perhaps by ignorance or distortions of facts, as well as by the literary nature of the genre, has now become a method of reacting to the overwhelming amount of detail that results in informative but unstructured lives (for a summary see p. 186 of my text). The existence in biography of what I call "authorized fictions" (p. 156) underscores the response of the genre to be both factual and literary, historical and artistic. This feature also recognizes today's commonplace that we live our lives as fictions and that we act within a set of guiding narrative structures. As early as 1918 Sidney Lee doubted the reliability

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of the biographer's use of fact when he wrote "the biographer too often fails to see his facts steadily or to see them whole" ("The Perspective of Biography"). Doubt about fact continues, but reading biography without attention to its form of selection or manner of presentation is as dangerous as its fabrication.

Consequently, readers as well as biographers must recognize the intersection of tropes, narrative techniques, and style which absorb but also alter fact to create a life which is refigured as a text. As Freud noted, all knowledge of past events is belated and the narratives which are the source of our stories take precedent over those events. The story of a life, even one which declares itself to be totally and exclusively factual, is always constructed. Or as Bernard Malamud's fictional biographer William Dubin laconically notes "there is no life that can be wholly recaptured. Which is to say that all biography is ultimately fiction." As for biographies that highlight fictional devices and psychological speculation one might suggest—for Mr. Webster—Geoffrey Scott's *Portrait of Zélide,* A. J. A. Symond's *The Quest for Corvo,* Leon Edel's *Henry James,* Diane Johnson's *Lesser Lives* or Peter Ackroyd's *T. S. Eliot.* And as for my supposed oversight in not using John Gross's volume, I refer Mr. Webster to p. 215, n. 35.

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Reviews

DANIEL MADELÉNAT, *la biographie.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984. 222 pp.

In recent years, French criticism has produced some articles on biography and a few books on autobiography. Madelénat's book is the first full-length study in many years to deal with biography proper. The title deserves attention. Most authors on biography seem anxious to delimit the scope of their work, clearly stating they are dealing with this or that aspect of their subject, not the whole. Dozens of such titles come to the mind. Without a qualifier, *la biographie* thus appears as a book intending to be a thorough study, a treatise. The venture is ambitious, even if the ambition is disclaimed by the unassuming lower case. The final statement of the introduction is also a disclaimer: "What is to be found here is nothing but a 'theory' in the old meaning of 'panorama.' "

Even post-Freudian theoretical writings on biography consider the activity as a branch of literature, and as such, dominated by aesthetic consciousness. Hence the many references to "art" or "literature," in text and title. Here aesthetic considerations come last, the author's chief aim being to institute biography as a human science. A difficult task since, as he well knows, science implies generalizations while biography thrives on particulars and singularities. At least, he intends to rationalize "this fuzzy, polymorphous, rather heterogeneous field, which is at pains to find a place for itself on the chessboard of cultural taxonomies."

He begins by exploring the lexical field of the word "biography," how it came out of the field of the sacred and the official (occupied by the eulogy, the panegyric, the funeral oration, etc.); the persistence of its rival "life" with its unlimited connotations; the apparition of new words suggesting either full knowledge ("radioscopy," "radiography"), or limited knowledge ("portrait," "profile," "silhouette"), or again a privileged relationship ("memories of," "recollections of"). Besides, overspecialization has given birth to learned words, in connection with the nature of the object ("hagiography," "heroography") or with the level aimed at or the method used

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("pathobiography," "ethnobiography," "psychobiography"). Also, a profusion of complex expressions meant either to exalt the work or to tone it down, according to the author's wish.

Then Madelénat studies the semantic field of the word: original meaning, then metonymic, synecdochical and metaphoric uses. Quoting dictionaries *(OED, Encyclopedia Britannica, Littré)* and authors (Edel, Friedländer, Garraty, Gosse, Maurois, Nicolson) he shows that definitions of biography oscillate between the two poles of extension and comprehension. He ends this section by his own definition: "An account, either written or oral, in prose, that a narrator makes of the life of a real person, emphasizing the idiosyncrasy of an individual existence and the continuity of a personality."

After this lexicological spadework, the author studies the spatiotemporal place of biography. The expected chapter on history is preceded here by a chapter on geography. By this metaphoric title, Madelénat means to set forth a network of criteria (based on quantity, quality, and the object) in order to delimit the various provinces of the genre and to (try to) fix their frontiers. A difficult task again because biography is assailed by many heterogeneous elements, subjected to hybridizations, strategies of exclusion and integration, and able to incorporate—which is the case at the moment—new techniques. In short, this chapter lays down a basis for a typology. This is continued in the chapter on history, which concludes Part I and is anything but factual. Borrowing from Thomas Kuhn *(The Structure of Scientific Revolutions)* a semantic neologism: "paradigm" in the sense of "accepted model or pattern," "set of recognized beliefs and values, of techniques common to the members of a group," Madelénat states that the history of biography is that of successive adaptations to new images of man, and of a dialectal opposition between established forms and potential transgressions.[1] On these premises, the history of biography—not infrequently divided into three periods: the classical, the romantic, the modern—is described here as that of three successive paradigms.

The second part, Epistemology, opens on an inventory of the main criticisms levelled at biography. Madelénat distinguishes between *causa sui* and peripheral criticisms, the former based on the absolutisation of the impersonal, the latter on the modalities of the genre. Then he examines the biographical relationship, and the problem of the knowledge of the other. That this knowledge should have its source in self knowledge is clear, and open to circularity. As regards psychology and psychiatry, this "Eldorado of hermeneutics," this "Copernician revolution that tends to turn clear consciousness into a satellite," the author has his reservations: he thinks that on the whole it has not, any more than intuition, opened a sure knowledge of the other to biography. In his mind this service should be rendered by history.

Biography and history have a rather antagonistic relationship, but this hostility is blurred in practise: the methods are the same, and the same the uncertainties, which come on top of the ambiguities of psychological knowledge. Complete mimesis is unthinkable: it would require God's own eye. If biographical epistemology is not to burst out, it must give itself conceptual tools and define an object apprehensible. Hence the need for logical models and abstract frameworks. But the process has its dangers: if the hagiographers' transcendental model was given up as simplistic, if the heroographers' promethean model was rejected for similar reasons, there exist today some deterministic models which are very reductive, and rather threatening for the concept of personality.

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In fact, says Madelénat, the destiny of biography shuttles between two poles: the strange, unintelligible, ineffable singularity of individual life that can be observed, and the underlying invariants that through abstract models change *doxa* into *episteme* and build up a truth. And because of its infinite powers for renewal, biography is certain of a future. As an instance of this, proud sciences like sociology, ethnology, psychology, thought they could snatch a number of areas away from its narrative: what finally happened is that biography quietly digested and annexed those sciences.

It is only then, in his third part, that Madelénat deals with individual biographical works. But even then they are not studied separately and at length, they are just quoted as illustrations of the various techniques of biographical writing, its constraints, its possibilities of choice, the compromises it is cornered into between the aesthetic ideal and the feasible. The author examines the different modes in the narrative, the perspectives, the narrator's degrees of distanciation, his style or styles and of course his treatment of rhythm and time. On the question of thematic order v. chronological—strict or with violations—order, Madelénat quotes the diverging Edel and Kendall, without taking sides. As for the general syntax of the narrative itself, he recalls the two major options: the trompe l'oeil representation in which the biographer is dissolved and disappears, and the one in which he claims a role and intervenes actively. A perceptive study on the aesthetic attraction of biography for the novel and the essay, the ambiguous relationship between biography and literary criticism leads to the final chapter, in which the author shows that aesthetic media are not gratuitous. He successively quotes Th. Fuller, R. North, J. F. Stanfield, M. Oliphant, V. Woolf, who among others, each in their turn, ascribed a function to biography. For his part (again classifying), Madelénat distinguishes several functions: informative, moral and religious (often dictatorial), ideological ("the biographer prescribes the ideology the optimal use of which is demonstrated by his hero"), political (the redoubtable official truth of totalitarian régimes, subtler intimations in liberal countries), social (rather diffuse: celebration of a heritage), critical (underlying individuality and the fecundity of differences is freeing oneself—and the reader—from prejudices), ideoclastic (well known especially since Strachey), but also metaphysical. "[By] throw[ing] open a window upon a life [the biographer] thereby opens it upon life itself." Madelénat draws on the ultimate formula of *Literary Biography* to conclude that "biography restores the being's fabric, torn up into separate monads, presents other selves as a medium between self and non-self, breaks up for a moment the spatiotemporal limits that shut us up."

Some particular cases end this *theory-panorama.* With some characters, the historical figure evolves towards the legendary; the mythical element seems to be part and parcel of the event. There exists a potential "mythotropism" in biography. Hence the temptation to favour the *minores* (R. Savage, J. Sterling, Mme de Duras). Or even to pass over the impassable (H. W. Grammans: *The Autobiography of Jesus;* J. d'Ormesson: *God, His Life and Works*). We reach here the field of imaginary biography, "biographoid" exercises, in which biography ceases to be fact-conditioned and plays on the norms of the genre. It is its ultimate function: the ludic one.

No wonder if, considering the contradictory strategies of biography, its dilemmas, the aporias of its epistemology, the paradoxes of its aesthetics, Madelénat concludes with Edel and Kendall, who agree on this point, that the craft is impossible, or well nigh impossible. The paradox is of course that that eclectic tinkering venture "incurious of everything except of Man" should prosper. There it is: curiosity begets

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renewal, hence the conviction there is no such thing as *ne varietur* biographies.[2] One must be content with plausibleness. Biography is anxiety, uncertainty, circumstance.

A treatise should be as complete as possible. Admittedly this one deals with Western biography only. For his illustrations, Madelénat draws on European and American works, in English and French mainly of course, and copiously. Carlyle, Clifford, Edel, Kendall, Nicolson are quoted 67 times, and by some miraculous equalitarianism, the French top quintet: Aron, Chateaubriand, Maurois, Sartre, Sainte-Beuve, 67 times too. All in all, the author refers to more than 500 authors. Quite a feat in 208 small pages.

Should the author of a treatise give his own views? It is a moot point. In his introduction, Madelénat states he will content himself with showing facts. This is hardly tenable when you throw new light on a subject. In fact, here and there, e.g. definition of biography, opinion on psychoanalysis, on the relationship of biographer and biographee, he clearly speaks for himself. The present reviewer inclines to think it should be so.

An interesting feature of the book is the vocabulary. In order to reach the essential in a limited space, one is bound to be compact, even abstract. Madelénat's language is loaded with technical terms current in human sciences, and also with long, or very long, polysyllables, rare or coined. The chief lexicogenic matrix to be used is derivation. For instance:

(Only the more obvious coinages are acknowledged by inverted commas in the book. The author's practice is followed here.)
A. Biographical area
(types; methods; effects; attitudes and behaviour)
- "biographoides," "biographomachies," "contre-biographie," ethnobiographie, "héroobiographie," "homéobiographie," "sociobiographie";
- "hyperbiographie," idiographie, infrabiographie, "métabiographie," nécrophagie, nosographie, pathographie;
- biognose, "biomimèse," biophanie;
- antibiographisme, biocratie, biodote, biologue, biophagie.

B. General vocabulary
(verbs and participles; nouns; adjectives)
- absolutisé(r), allégorisé, artialisé, contemporanéisé(es), "déréalisé," emblématiser, "historicisé," périodiser;
- absolutisation, chosification, complexification, "déchronologisation," "démythologisation," "désindividualisation," dialoguisation, éternisation, "hyperfonctionnalisation," individuation, "littérarisation," précarisation, "procustisation";
- anecdotisme, chimisme, "pidgin-freudisme";
- appréhensible, caméléonesque, controversiste, intégratrice, versicolore.

Most of the words of list B are factitive. The nouns in particular are remarkable. They are the product of the solidification of a process; they are action changed into notion. This type of derivation, common in technical and scientific vocabularies, is in expansion in French. However, Madelénat is not following the trend; he is ahead of it. His text is not lighter for it, but definitely shorter.

With the words of list A, the problem is different. Rationalizing a "polymorphous . . . domain" entails classifying. And presupposes naming. These words are labels.

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Now, considering Madelénat is never so good as when he establishes criteria and proposes a taxonomy, one may express a regret: some of the new terms he proposes for filling the lexical field of biography are scattered throughout his book (e.g. "homéobiographie," "biographomachies," "contre-biographie," on pages 86, 92, 103 respectively), while, as is natural, his biographical typology comes at the beginning (pp. 13–31). The reader legitimately wonders how the late comers fit in the pattern. A glossary would have been a welcome minimum.[3] In fact, this book also points towards the making of something more graphic than a glossary and its burden of cross-references: a chart of the notional field of the discipline.[4]

These are minor observations. Anyway it will be possible to add index and glossary to the next edition—which might be an English edition, a highly desirable thing. As for indulging in excessive (though admittedly economical) sesquipedality, it is the lesser sin. By the scope of his information, the perceptiveness and depth of his analyses, his gift for conceptualisation, Daniel Madelénat has written an important book. In his introduction, he complains there is not, parallel to "psychologie," "théologie," or the more recent "narratologie," something called "biographologie." In fact his book might well be the first treatise in the discipline.

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NOTES

1. In "Biography and Criticism," a lecture delivered in Los Angeles in 1982, George Simson, in order to designate his own biographical paradigms or declensions of judgment, proposed the coinage "biodigms." Number 3 of his 18 biodigms reads: "The ontogeny of the individual recapitulates the philogeny of the culture of both subject and biographer." The kinship between the two analyses is obvious.
2. On the same subject, see Gabriel Merle, "La Biographie et ses problèmes: interpellations, frontières, perspectives," *Les Langues Modernes,* Paris, No. 6, 1982, especially pp. 743–4.
3. Such a glossary would have enlarged D. J. Winslow's, according to his wish. See *biography* vol. I, No. 1, Winter 1978, p. 61 and vol. II, No. 2, Spring 1978, p. 61.
4. For a good instance of the establishment of an onomasiological field, see G. Matoré: *La Méthode en Lexicologie: domaine français,* Didier, Paris, 1953.

Luis Bunuel, *My Last Sigh: the Autobiography of Luis Bunuel,* translated by Abigail Israel, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1983. 256 pages.

Luis Bunuel's autobiography plays like a good Bunuel film. The presentation seems familiar enough and the details are all in the right place—the helpful chapter headings, the chronological arrangement, and the promise of a grand summation by one of the century's great artists—but on second look something is seriously out of whack, not unlike the dinner party scene from *The Phantom of Liberty* where the guests sit nonchalantly astride toilets and skulk off to the lavatory to eat. Typically, Bunuel has

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posited structure only to undercut it, so what appears to be a formal autobiography is actually a charming picaresque, a presentation of self more concerned with digressions than discourse, with sensibility than sense. "The details are excruciatingly boring," he allows disingenuously, "but if you want to follow the sinuous routes of a life, if you want to see where it came from and where it went, it's impossible to tell what's superfluous and what's indispensable."

Born in 1900 in Calanda, Spain, Bunuel grew up in a world that the old man in his eighties can scarcely believe existed, a world genuinely medieval in its pace and outlook. In his provincial hometown "the Middle Ages lasted until World War I," and Bunuel was one of the last inheritors of an insular European folk culture grounded in priestly authority and the doctrinal certainties of the Roman Catholic Church. A brilliant, eccentric youth, he rebelled (naturally) and went to Madrid where he became one of the brightest lights of the famous "Generation of 1927," a talented assortment of Cubists, Ultraists, and Surrealists whose painting, literature, and life-style launched the first sustained artistic assault on bourgeois convention and scientific rationalism.

By 1928, Bunuel had cast his lot in earnest with the Surrealists, "a proud, ardent, and unforgettable group" to whom he remained committed for the rest of his life. A sometime lecturer on avant-garde cinema, he was soon engaged in a serendipitous collaboration on a project whose only aesthetic premise was that "no idea or image should lend itself to rational explanation." The result was the instantly-notorious *Un Chien andalou* (1928), which inaugurated what is wistfully referred to as "a lifetime of threats and insults." On and off for the next fifty years, an extended career virtually unparalleled in world cinema, Bunuel produced close to three dozen intensely personal, defiantly original films, a record replete with masterpieces: *L'Age d'or* (1930), *Los olvidados* (1950), *Viridiana* (1961), *Belle de Jour* (1967), *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie* (1972), *That Obscure Object of Desire* (1977)—any partial listing seems incomplete.

Except for the occasional on-set anecdote or passing explanation of personal symbology, Bunuel seldom refers to his films. "I don't think a life can be confused with a work," he declares, and besides he's much more enchanted with earthly delights like martinis, tobacco, and—above all—friends. Whether in Madrid, Paris, Mexico City, or Hollywood, the gregarious director thrives on companionship and few of the great names of twentieth century art seem to have missed a morning aperitif with him. Bunuel's incisive capsule portraits of his comrades are brutally honest, but by and large affectionate, generous and amusing. He takes particular delight in remembering the marvelous gestures of his Surrealist friends: Gala Dali, drenched in fake blood, turning up at a swank New York costume party in the thirties dressed as the Lindberg Baby; Max Ernst hiring a little girl in communion dress to go onstage at a gallery opening and read pornography. The Surrealists reveled in their defiance of bourgeois conventions and were at something of a loss when those conventions broke down. In 1955 in Paris, Bunuel commiserates with Andre Breton, who with unbearable melancholy bemoans the turn of affairs: "It's sad, mon cher Luis, but it's no longer possible to scandalize anyone!"

Though Bunuel eschews psychological interpretations of the "Bunuelesque penchant for morbidity" that recurs in his work—indelible images like the celebrated sliced eyeball from *Un Chien andalou,* the tired dog dragged along by the cart from *Viridiana,* the dead hair in the moonlight from *The Phantom of Liberty*—he does pro-

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vide insight into the general scheme of his cinematic universe. In this sense, the crucial event of his life was not allegiance to Surrealism, but his experience during the Spanish Civil War. Though Bunuel was a dedicated Republican who risked his life more than once for the cause, the summary executions and indiscriminate carnage challenged his revolutionary sentiments. Anarchism, Socialism, Fascism, Communism—all political ideology blended together for him during the horrifying bloodbath of the war years. "No sooner had the people risen and seized power than they split into factions and began tearing one another apart," he recalls. Among the innocents caught in the crossfire was the poet Federico Garcia Lorca. "Of all the human beings I've ever known, Federico was the finest," eulogizes his friend, "He was his own masterpiece." Bunuel's response to the frightful chaos of the Civil War is acted out in all his subsequent films: "I was torn between my intellectual (and emotional) attraction to anarchy and my fundamental need for order and peace."

Bunuel's fear of chaos and his affinities for the Christian culture that first nurtured him—audacious admissions for a man who died an unrepentant surrealist—make *My Last Sigh* into a kind of elegy. Most autobiographers express some sense of loss—for missed opportunities, squandered energies—but Bunuel's regrets are more cultural than personal. The old man doesn't long for the vitality of youth (indeed, the waning of sexual desire frees him from a "tyrannical burden"), only for the warmth of a lost civilization. "Evil seems victorious at last; the forces of destruction have carried the day," he writes of the present. At least the "completely fossilized mode of thought" that marked life in medieval Calanda was balanced by its exquisite spiritual life, a life lost to modernity. In the end, even Bunuel's vaunted anti-clericalism softens, and he wonders what his surrealist friends would say if they could see him spending his twilight years in cozy tête-a-tête with a Dominican confidant.

Intimations of imminent catastrophe aside, *My Last Sigh* is a happy addition to the Bunuel canon as well as a prophetic one: he died last July at the age of eighty-three, not long after the book was published in America. Translated from the French by Abigail Israel and written with the assistance of long-time colleague Jean Claude Carrière, the autobiography is a suitable legacy that captures the spirit, imagination, and discreet charm of the director's best films.

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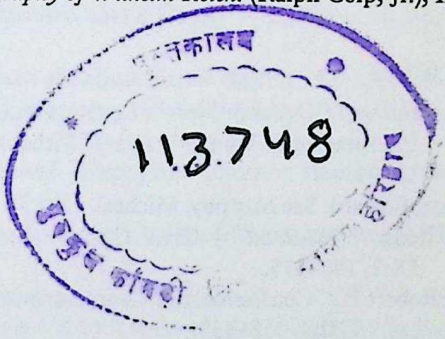

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